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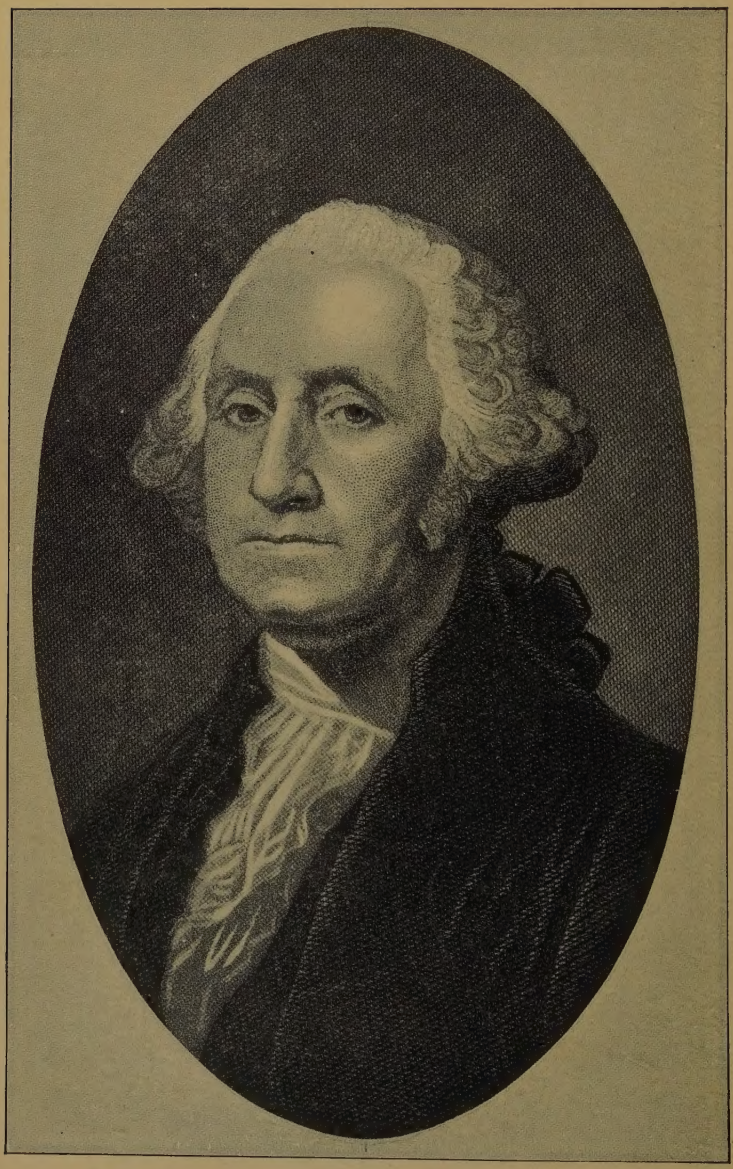

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LIFE AND TIMES OF WASHINGTON

SCHROEDER-LOSSING

REVISED, ENLARGED, AND ENRICHED: AND WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION By EDWARD C. TOWNE, B. A.

VOLUME I

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PREFACE.

THE plan of the present work, in the revised and enlarged form now offered to the public, is that of an attempt to adequately bring out all the facts bearing upon the origin of the United States of America within the period covered by the active career of Washington; and with this to show, in the clearest light possible, the character, conduct, services, and political ideals of Washington; his youth and education; his activity and development from sixteen to nineteen years of age; his immediate entrance upon public service and attainment of distinction; his important military position and experience while yet a very young man; his remarkable eminence and services as a Colonial soldier in Virginia, then the foremost of the American colonies; his fearless recognition of the issues of liberty under the oppressive attempts of the ministers of the British King; his leadership in the Virginia demonstrations of protest preparatory to revolution; his position as the first soldier of the Continent in the earliest Congress of the Colonies; his unanimous recognition by the Congress as before all others in military and political weight, and his appointment as American Commander-in-Chief; his conduct of the Revolution, both in military service of the highest character and in constant sagacious counsel and effective influence, accomplishing more than all others together in the maintenance and direction of an otherwise hopeless cause; the supreme significance and weight of his thought in the

making of the Constitution and the bringing together under it of Colonies not yet educated to faith in a Union; and the final service and climax of his unsurpassed career in two Presidencies, based on principles of National outlook and union prophetic of the rise of the United States to the highest rank of world power.

The "Lives of Washington" thus far available for the interest and instruction of the public have in important respects come a good deal short of telling, sufficiently and correctly, all parts of the great story of Washington, and still more have they failed to apply adequate discrimination to the manifestations in Washington of intellectual genius, and noble character, of the very highest type. In the case even of Irving's interesting and valuable "Life," the literary felicity and general spirit with which the work was executed left something to be desired in the method and scope of the narrative; and for the matter which is throughout of highest interest, Washington's complex and unsurpassed character, his greatness intellectually, and as a soldier and statesman, Irving's study in this direction was less full and thorough than so great a theme seems now to require, in view of the course of popular discussion from 1889 to the present time. The Schroeder-Lossing "Life and Times," of which the present work is an expansion and revision, was of special value because of its large scope, and still more from its constant attention to just appreciation of Washington's very exceptional character, and the greatness everywhere implied in the true story of his career.

Several recent works have aimed, more or less openly, to apply a method of detraction to the character of Washington, and to reduce his greatness to the common level, upon the theory that we gain a man while we lose a hero. The utterances brought out by the Centennial celebrations

which culminated in that of 1889 at New York were almost universally at the level of exceedingly deficient knowledge and profoundly unfortunate misapprehension, even on the part of men of high representative position and character. An edition of the writings of Washington under the editorship of Mr. W. C. Ford, begun in 1888, was executed on lines deliberately and avowedly intended to bring Washington down from his high historic pedestal; and in sequel to this Mr. Ford's brother undertook a popular volume, designed to reduce Washington from the heroic, almost godlike level, to that of a common historical character. To go back to the Schroeder-Lossing narrative is in itself to most effectively expose at once the singular ignorance and the inexplicable wrong of any "True George Washington" story, or study of character, which fails to carry to the greatest monumental height appreciation of the unparalleled man which Washington was, and the unapproachable services which he rendered as soldier and statesman, to America and to mankind.

The thorough revision under which the work is now given an expanded form, to make a complete text-book of knowledge not less important than intensely interesting, has aimed to strengthen the proof that the worship almost by the fathers of Washington was but simple justice, and that lapse of time but casts new light on the colossal and splendid figure which Washington must ever be in the history truly told.

It has been particularly sought to make as perfect as possible from our latest knowledge the panorama of events and of contemporary characters, which make the times and the scenes of the career of Washington forever unique in interest and instruction. There are characters in the great story who had their meed of praise locally

and for the time, and the tradition of whose fame still commands the popular ear, in disregard to some extent of the issues of the history and the final verdict of truth and justice; while on other characters, and before all on Washington himself, in the various stages of his activity and the various aspects of his character, has not yet fallen the full light of exact knowledge and critical discrimination. The current story of Washington's education, his attention to surveying, and his military service in Virginia during several eventful years, has either been wrongly told or has not been told at all. An adequate, as well as accurate, account of Washington as a youth, from his father's death to his earliest military employment, and as a character of distinction and a military commander for the seven years preceding his marriage, is given for the first time in the following pages, in the passages added by the present writer.

And not the least important of the aims of the work as now offered to the public, is that of presenting the facts in such a light of equal justice to the contrasted forms of culture and civilization, of society and political order, peculiar on the one hand to New England and the North, and on the other to Virginia and the South, as to promote a clear understanding of all the issues of early American history, through which have been reached the developments of the Twentieth Century — that "*great empire, . . . stupendous fabric of freedom and empire, . . . an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions,*" whereof Virginia's incomparable son, and he alone, had clear vision.

EDWARD C. TOWNE.

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PART I.

HIS ANCESTORS AND BOYHOOD.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND ANCESTORS.

1657–1739.

THE eventful times of Washington may well arrest the thoughts of every one who is interested in the origin and destiny of our republic. And the combination of causes which made this illustrious man the master-spirit of his day, and the very impersonation of the great principles which he asserted, is a pleasing indication of what may be regarded as not a merely fortuitous, but a divinely ordered, series of events, having for their ultimate object the general welfare of humanity.

Among leaders and rulers of nations there is not another who has illustrated, in so happy a manner, the virtues and obligations both of private and public life, and who has afforded so suitable an example for imitation in those virtues and obligations, on the part of every citizen, from the most secluded member of society to the most conspicuous man of mark in council or in the field.

One of the most eminent living statesmen of England has said, "He was the greatest man of our own or any age; the only one upon whom an epithet so thoughtlessly lavished by men, to foster the crimes of their worst enemies, may be innocently and justly bestowed." "It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man; and, until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue, be

derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."* And one of the chief of our Revolutionary worthies, who enjoyed every opportunity to form a proper estimate of the qualities which he commends, says: "If we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been denominated presidents or consuls, kings or princes, where shall we find one whose commanding talents and virtues, whose overruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor, who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations and fellow citizens with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon are no common blessings to the country that possesses them. By these great qualities and their benign effects has Providence marked out the head of this nation, with a hand so distinctly visible as to have been seen by all men and mistaken by none." "His example is complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read."†

It was a happy hour for America when, by the divine ordering of human affairs, she gave birth to the future "Father of his Country." He was born on the 22d‡ day of February, and citizens of the United States have good reason to celebrate, with lively enthusiasm, every annual recurrence of the memorable day.

The period of his birth and boyhood was that during which occurred, as will appear in the sequel, some of the

* Lord Brougham's Sketch of Washington, in his "Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the Time of George III." Second Series, Vol. II, last sketch.

† John Adams's speech to the Senate of the United States, April, 1789, and his "Special Message to the Senate, December 23, 1799."

‡ The day was the eleventh (Old Style), 1732.

most extraordinary and oppressive of the proceedings of the British Parliament, in relation to the American colonies. And it is a reflection which cannot escape the notice of intelligent students of history that often, at the very time when oppression has been pushing its exactions to their climax, deliverance and a deliverer have been revealed.

In November of the very year (1732) when Washington was born, the benevolent and brave Oglethorpe, with 120 emigrants, was crossing the Atlantic with his charter to found the colony of Georgia, the future thirteenth State of the original American Confederacy, destined, when the infant energies of Washington should be matured for the exploit, to take part in achieving our national independence.

It was when he was a child (1733) that England imposed a tax on the importation of sugar into North America. Then too, in the full exercise of the exclusive privilege* to import negro slaves from Africa into the Spanish colonies in America, she sent her Asiento ships to these colonies, until her abuse of her privileges led eventually to a war with Spain. And it was during this war (1739), the first war waged for colonial interests, that Porto Bello, the grand mart of Peruvian and Chilian commerce, was captured by the daring Admiral Vernon, whose name afterward became associated with the rural home of our great champion of civil, social, and religious liberty.

The state of civil affairs in England at this period was extraordinary.

The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, produced his

* The treaty for the exclusive right to import negroes, "El Asiento de los Negros," was made by England with Spain, in 1713, and was to continue thirty years.

excise scheme (1733), which occasioned an intense feeling of repugnance throughout the realm. Not only was the offensive measure denounced in Parliament, as a "plan of arbitrary power," but the people at large, in the provincial towns, as well as in the metropolis, bent on protecting their civil rights from what they deemed the grasp of tyranny, indulged in loud protestations against the principle of the scheme, burnt the minister in effigy, wore cockades with the motto, "Liberty, Property, and no Excise," and, by the power of the popular will, drove Walpole to relinquish his measure, with the memorable declaration that "there would be an end of the liberty of England if supplies were to be raised by the sword."

The European continent also was at this time greatly agitated by the War of the Polish Succession, in which France, Spain, Sardinia, and a majority of the people of Poland, maintained the claims of Stanislaus, Leczinski; and the Czarina Anne, of Russia, supported by Austria, occupied Poland with foreign troops, placed on the throne Frederick Augustus, in direct opposition to the proclaimed will of the nation, and reasserted what the infant Washington was destined, in less than fifty years, to condemn with greater eloquence than that of words, while he vindicated our natural and inalienable rights in opposition to the humiliating dogma, that popular privilege must yield to royal prerogative and the voice of the people to the will of kings.

Stanislaus II, Poniatowski, born but a few weeks before Washington (January 17, 1732), was the last King of Poland. The humiliating measures of the Czarina Catharine II, caused the kingdom rapidly to degenerate, until at length, during the Presidency of Washington, Stanislaus was dethroned, and his country dismembered and partitioned by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. This bold

illustration of monarchical tyranny, by which the political existence of an ancient kingdom was annihilated, was exhibited in the sight of all Europe, while princes and courts that had waged protracted wars to settle punctilios of state etiquette were content to view the solemn spectacle, without indulging one generous impulse in behalf of ill-fated Poland.

Not many days after Washington's birth, his parents, devout members of the Church of England, which at that time was almost universal in Virginia, dedicated him to God in baptism, and provided for him two godfathers and a godmother, according to the rubric in the baptismal office. The family Bible contains this record: "George Washington, Son of Augustine and Mary, his Wife, was born the 11th day of February, 1731-2, about 10 in the morning; and was baptized the 5th of April following: Mr. Beverly Whiting and Captain Christopher Brooks, Godfathers; and Mrs. Mildred Gregory, Godmother."

This scrupulous conformity to sponsoral provisions implies a decent regard also for the solemn vow, promise, and profession made in the baptismal sacrament. And it may reasonably be inferred that the nature of the solemn service was in due time explained and its obligations set forth by the parents and sponsors to the child thus dedicated unto God.

It may be regarded as of special interest that Washington was a son of Virginia, the "Mother of Presidents."* The county of Westmoreland, his birthplace, in the eastern part of the State, and bordering on the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, is celebrated as the birthplace of many other distinguished men. President Monroe was

* Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Harrison, and Tyler, Presidents of the United States, were citizens or natives of Virginia.

born there, and also Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Lightfoot Lee, signers of the Declaration of Independence; Thomas, Francis, and Arthur Lee, brothers of Richard Henry; Gen. Henry Lee, who was known during the Revolution as "Light Horse Harry," and Judge Bushrod Washington. [The son of Gen. Henry Lee was Robert E. Lee of the Civil war.]

The house in which Washington was born, a single-story, low-pitched, frame building, is no longer standing. It was a ruin before the Revolutionary War. Its site however, half a mile from the junction of Pope's creek with the Potomac, in Washington parish, is indicated by a few remaining fragments and by a clump of decayed fig trees. A few vines and shrubs and a few gentle flowers also seem to delight in decorating, year after year, the hallowed spot and in enlivening its desolation with pleasing and suggestive sentiments. The majestic river scenery of the Potomac and the neighboring lawns with their velvet greensward, associated with the infancy of Washington, contribute their charm to enliven the patriot pilgrim, who mingles with his delight in these beauties of nature a predominant feeling by which that majestic stream is converted into a lively expression of the prevailing emotion of his mind.

The site of the house which was built by Washington's great-grandfather in the year 1657, when he emigrated to America, was for many years marked by only a simple monumental stone,* bearing the inscription: "Here, the 11th of February, 1732, George Washington was born." A suitable monument was erected in 1895.

Seven years after his birth (1739), the family removed from Westmoreland to a house which was the property

* It is a slab of freestone, lying horizontally, and it was placed there by George W. P. Custis, Esq., in June, 1815.

of his father, on the Rappahannock river, nearly opposite Fredericksburg, in Suffolk county. Of this too nothing now remains except a few scattered pieces of brick, wood, and plaster. But the visitor to the spot is naturally prompted to fancy many interesting pictures of youthful sports in and around the homestead.

A tale still current in Washington's old home neighborhood in Virginia recounts how once as a stripling he sat reading under the shade of an oak tree near his school. Some of his friends had engaged a champion wrestler of the county to test their strength in an impromptu ring. One after another fell a victim to the champion's skill, till, grown bold at last, he strode back and forth like one of the giants of old-time romance, daring the only boy who had not wrestled with him either to put his book down and come into the ring or own himself afraid.

This was more than the self-contained Washington could stand. Quietly closing his book, he accepted the challenge. Long after, when the student under the oak tree had become the conqueror with whose honored name the whole civilized world resounded, the ex-champion told what followed. After a "fierce, short struggle," he said, "I felt myself grasped and hurled upon the ground with a jar that shook the marrow of my bones."

It does not concern American citizens, as it does the subjects of European princes, to trace a line of descent from ancestors who wore crowns or coronets, and were adorned with garters, stars, and other such badges of honorable eminence. It is rather a subject of self-gratulation on our part that a remote forefather was one of a band of untitled voluntary exiles, who fled from persecution to the rock-bound shore of a new country; or, one of the sturdy adventurers or gallant cavaliers who sought their fortunes among the early colonists of our southern

country. Yet it is, in all cases, a legitimate object of inquiry with us to ascertain the national origin of a family and the time and circumstances of its emigration.

The first of Washington's paternal ancestors who came to America was his great-grandfather, John Washington. He and his brother Lawrence emigrated from England to the colony of Virginia in the year 1657, while the royalists, republicans, and fifth-monarchy men were in the melee of their opposition to the scheme of making Cromwell king, and while many loyal British subjects, eschewing the assumptions of the protectorate, were fleeing for refuge to other lands.

The brothers, John and Lawrence, both purchased estates in Westmoreland county. John married, and had several children, one of whom, Lawrence, was the grandfather of our Washington. This Lawrence had several children; and his second son, Augustine, was our Washington's father, who married twice. His first wife, Jane Butler, was the mother of four children, two of whom were Lawrence and Augustine; and his second wife, Mary Ball, celebrated for her beauty, was the mother of six children, of whom our Washington was the first-born.*

The two brothers who emigrated to America, John and Lawrence, could trace their family, through several generations, to William de Hertburn, a powerful and noble knight, who lived a century after the time of William the Conqueror, and who purchased, in the year 1183, the manor and village of Wessyngton, in the diocese of Durham. From that period, the de Hertburn family took, as then was usual, the name of the estate, and was called

* There were three other sons, Samuel, John Augustine, and Charles; and there were two daughters, Mildred, who died in infancy, and Betty, who married Fielding Lewis, Esq., afterward a devoted patriot of the Revolutionary times. [Betty was of the same grand figure and countenance as her brother George.]

de Wessyngton. The orthography of the name, passing through various modifications,* eventually attained its familiar modern form.

So little interest did our Washington himself evince in relation to his pedigree that he never gave it his serious attention until he received, after his elevation to the Presidency, a letter on the subject from Sir Isaac Heard, then Garter King at Arms in London, who was, from his office, naturally led to inquire into the ancestry of the illustrious American, who was at that time the observed of all observers. Washington's reply to Sir Isaac's letter is a characteristic effusion.

"PHILADELPHIA, 2 *May*, 1792.

"Sir.— Your letter of the 7th of December was put into my hands by Mr. Thornton, and I must request that you will accept my acknowledgments, as well for the polite manner in which you express your wishes for my happiness, as for the trouble you have taken in making genealogical collections relative to the family of Washington.

"This is a subject to which, I confess, I have paid very little attention. My time has been so much occupied in the busy and active scenes of life, from an early period of it, that but a small portion could have been devoted to researches of this nature, even if my inclination or particular circumstances should have prompted to the inquiry. I am therefore apprehensive, that it will not be in my power, circumstanced as I am at present, to furnish you with materials to fill up the sketch which you have sent me, in so accurate a manner as you could wish. We have no office of record in this country, in which exact genealogical documents are preserved; and very few cases, I believe, occur, where a recurrence to pedigree, for any

* Among these modifications are Wessington, Wassington, Weschington, and Wasshington.

considerable distance back, has been found necessary to establish such points as may frequently arise in older countries.

"On comparing the tables, which you sent, with such documents as are in my possession, and which I could readily obtain from another branch of the family with whom I am in the habit of correspondence, I find it to be just. I have often heard others of the family, older than myself, say, that our ancestor who first settled in this country came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember.

"The arms inclosed in your letter, are the same that are held by the family here; though I have also seen, and have used, as you may perceive by the seal to this packet, a flying griffin for the crest.*

"If you can derive any information from the inclosed lineage, which will enable you to complete your table, I shall be well pleased in having been the means of assisting you in those researches, which you have had the politeness to undertake; and shall be glad to be informed of the result, and of the ancient pedigree of the family, some of whom I find intermixed with that of Ferrers.

"Lawrence Washington, from whose will you inclosed an abstract, was my grandfather. The other abstracts which you sent do not, I believe, relate to the family of Washington in Virginia; but, of this I cannot speak positively.

* The Washington coat of arms, in the families of Buckinghamshire, Kent, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire, and in the Virginia families, is argent, two bars gules in chief, three mullets of the second. Crest, a raven with wings indorsed proper, issuing out of a ducal coronet or. In Edmondson's Heraldry, are given other arms for other branches of the family.

"With due consideration, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

In this letter were inclosed particulars respecting the family. "In the year 1657, or thereabouts, and during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, John and Lawrence Washington, brothers, emigrated from the north of England, and settled at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac river, in the county of Westmoreland. But from whom they descended, the subscriber is possessed of no document to ascertain." * Then follows an account of John, who was Washington's great-grandfather, and of his descendants in America.

While he heeded not the suggestions by which pride and ambition allure so many to genealogical records, Washington did however obey the promptings of benevolence, when, on making his will, he desired that a list should be furnished of his blood-relations, both in Europe and America, with a view to his bestowing upon each one of them a gift or souvenir.

To such inquirers as may be curious on the subject of the remote English ancestors of our Washington's first American progenitor, John, of Virginia, it may be interesting to know that he descended lineally from John, of Whitfield, in the county of Lancaster, whose son John, also of Whitfield, was father of John, of Warton, in the same county; and the eldest son of this John, of Warton, Lawrence, was mayor of Northampton, and had a grant of the manor of Sulgrave, with other valuable lands there, after Henry VIII's dissolution of the priories.† This

* It has been recently found that the immediate English ancestor, father of the emigrants to America, was a Rev. Lawrence Washington, of Essex, in England.

† In 30 Henry VIII, 1538–1539.

Lawrence, of Northampton, was the great-grandfather of the first American Washington; his son Robert, of Sulgrave, being the father of Lawrence, of Sulgrave, of whom John, of Virginia, was the second son.*

Among the many reflections awakened by these genealogical memoranda, one of the most interesting is, that they are a key to what is far more worthy of attention than the mere branches, withered or budding, of a family tree. Among the Washingtons are found many persons of note in the learned professions, in council, and in the field of war; men who won the fame of scholars, the honors of knighthood, the rewards of skill and industry, and the praise of virtue, valor, and high resolve.

Among the English Washingtons were the noble knight William de Hertburn, a conspicuous chevalier in the train of the princely Count Palatinate, the Bishop of Durham; William Weshington, a loyal defender of Henry III, in the wars of the barons; Sir Stephen de Wessington, one of the chevaliers of Edward III; Sir William, of the privy council of Durham; John, the learned† and energetic prior of the Benedictines; Lieutenant-Colonel James Washington, one of the loyal subjects of Charles I, in whose cause he was slain at the siege of Pontefract; Joseph, an eminent lawyer, who translated one of Milton's political treatises;‡ and Sir Henry, famous for his daring

* [The error of this account has been recently demonstrated, showing that the Lawrence of Sulgrave had a son, Lawrence, who was the father of the John and Lawrence who came to America.]

† Author of "De Juribus et Possessionibus Ecclesæ Dunelm."

‡ The "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano." He wrote also a translation of part of "Lucian's Dialogues," "Observations upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England," an "Abridgement of the Statutes" to 1687, and the first volume of "Modern Reports."

achievement at the storming of Bristol, and for his devoted loyal constancy at the siege of Worcester. Referring to Sir Henry's exploit at Bristol, Lord Clarendon says, "On Prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage; for, though that division led on by the Lord Grandison, colonel-general of the foot, was beaten off, the Lord Grandison himself being hurt, and the other, led by Colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel Washington, with a less party finding a place in the curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow."*

The military qualities of the European ancestors were perpetuated by their American descendants, from the very first who emigrated to this country — John Washington. Tradition says that this American progenitor, before his migration to Virginia, held military rank. After his arrival in Virginia he certainly wore the name and performed the duties of a military officer; his will is indorsed "The will of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington," and when the shores of the Potomac were threatened with an incursion of hostile Indians of the Seneca tribe, Col. John Washington led the Virginia forces which combined with those of Maryland in repelling the savages. He was also a successful and wealthy planter, a magistrate, and a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses; and the parish in which he resided received, in honor of him, and still retains, his name.

Col. William Augustine Washington, son of Baily, of Stafford county, Virginia, was commander of a celebrated regiment of cavalry in the Revolutionary War, and

* Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," Book VII, vol. IV, p. 134. Oxf. 1839.

achieved such remarkable exploits of valor that Congress awarded to him, after the battle of Cowpens, a silver medal; and he was familiarly known as "The modern Marcellus," and "The Sword of his Country."

From the conquest of Britain in the twelfth century to the independence of its American colonies, seven centuries after that epoch, a martial spirit, associated with energy, endurance, resolution, constancy, and valor, appears to have been the prevailing family characteristic of the Washingtons.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY DAYS OF WASHINGTON.

1739–1748.

IT was while Washington was a boy of about seven years of age (1739), that his father removed from the old homestead. His estate which he now occupied was in Stafford county, on the Rappahannock, and in a region remarkable for its salubrity. The new house was very pleasantly situated, and it commanded an extensive land and water prospect. At this rural home, several years of young Washington's boyhood were spent in study and in sports, from his seventh to his eleventh year.

As an infant and as a youth, he possessed unusual bodily health and vigor. He was ever active, hardy, and adventurous, fond of open-air employments and recreations, of athletic exercises, and of the horse, the gun, and the chase.

His father, who was a good man, and deeply interested in his children's moral and religious education, employed, among other means, several ingenious methods to engage the feelings of his son George, so as to kindle in his mind generous and liberal sentiments, a love of truth, and an habitual and influential recognition of the existence and the providence of God.*

* Anecdotes illustrating this may be found in the second chapter of the Life of Washington, by the Rev. M. L. Weems, formerly rector of Mount Vernon parish.

When George would commit a fault, and, being detected, would not meanly shrink from confessing it, but would at once tell the honest truth, his father would warmly and affectionately commend him for his magnanimity and integrity.

He would point out to him the riches of God's bounty in the abundant fruits of the earth, and from this copious text inculcate precepts of ungrudging liberality.

On a certain occasion he planted seeds in one of his garden beds, so disposed as to exhibit, when they sprung up, the words George Washington. The first discovery of a spectacle so novel, and to him utterly unaccountable and marvelous, naturally awakened in George's mind profound astonishment. He repaired to his father, told him of the strange sight, and conducted him to the spot where the wonder might be seen. The father now availed himself of the absorbing incident to lead his little son to trace the phenomenon to an intelligent cause. He told the secret of his being himself the agent in producing it. And he then explained, in a striking and impressive manner, the pervading indications of contrivance and design in the whole visible creation and the wonderful and convincing proofs of an intelligent and benevolent Great First Cause.

This paternal care and discipline was destined however to be of short continuance. The son, when about eleven years of age, was on a visit at Chotanck, where he was enjoying the Easter holidays with Lawrence and Robert Washington, whom he calls, in his will, "the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years," when he was hastily summoned from the happy home of these cousins to change the joys of a holiday with them for the sorrows of a last look in the chamber of death, where lay his expiring father, prostrated by a sudden and fatal attack of

gout in the stomach. It was also his lot to reach home too late to hear him utter a blessing or a farewell, or to receive any expression of his love, except what affection could fondly associate with a feeble glance of recognition.*

Augustine Washington was a Virginia planter of the best class. He brought with him from England the characteristic qualities of an English gentleman and an intelligent and devout attachment to the English Church. In person he was remarkably tall and manly. He was also a man of strong mind, with great energy of purpose; and his thoughts and feelings were habitually under the control of practical religion. In common with the Virginia planters of his day, he delighted in field sports. His long, heavy gun, still preserved, suggests the thought of a huntsman of extraordinary size of body and power of arm, and warrants the reports which tradition has handed down to us, respecting the large frame and great muscular strength which his distinguished son inherited.

One who knew him personally, Mr. Withers, of Stafford county, has described him as a man of uncommon height, noble appearance, manly proportions, and extraordinary muscular power. At the Principio Iron Works on the Rappahannock, he once lifted and placed in a wagon, "a mass of iron which two ordinary men could barely raise from the ground." Yet this gigantic might of muscle never tempted him to take any part in the frequent combats which occurred in Virginia in his day, except to stay savage violence by separating combatants. And such was his character for magnanimity, justice, and

* He died April 12, 1743, at the age of forty-nine years. [At eleven years and nearly two months of age, his oldest son had probably had fully four years of as careful and thorough education as any boy in any age could have had, or can have in our own time.]

moral worth that he commanded, wherever he appeared and in whatever he engaged, universal and unhesitating deference.

His disposition was mild, his manners were courteous, and his private character was without reproach. And as he lay on his deathbed, he uttered a declaration that does honor to his memory. "I thank God," said he, "that in all my life I never struck a man in anger; for if I had, I am sure that from my remarkable muscular powers I should have killed my antagonist, and then his blood, at this awful moment, would have lain heavily upon my soul. As it is, I die at peace with all mankind."*

The success with which he accumulated property and added field to field, until he could provide plantations for his sons and an independent maintenance for his surviving daughter, illustrates his exemplary diligence and industry, so conspicuous also in the character of his son George.

Upon the widowed mother now devolved the care of her five children. The eldest, George, was eleven years of age; and the youngest, Charles, was five. But she was eminently qualified, by nature and religion, to fulfil all her duties to her family. A lady "of the old school," possessed of a strong mind and sound judgment, she united with great simplicity of manners, energy, honesty, and truthfulness. Her house, the home of hospitality, was also the home of order, neatness, economy, and domestic industry. She was a strict disciplinarian; and, by her decision and consistency of character, she obtained over her children and dependents an uncompromising, but benign, control.

* Letter from George W. P. Custis to Charles Brown, of Boston, April 24, 1851, reprinted in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1857.

Tradition tells that she was deeply interested in forming the minds and hearts of her children according to the teachings of the Gospel, and that she daily read to them select parts of Sir Matthew Hale's Contemplations,* a work which abounds in golden maxims of sound wisdom and pure piety. The very volume which she used, and which has her name in it, "Mary Washington," written by herself, is still preserved among the family relics. And the precepts contained in those portions of the work which appear to have been read most frequently, were so admirably, as well as faithfully, exemplified by her son George throughout his life, that one might almost think that they were written at the close of his career, and were designed as a delineation of his character and a record of his principles.

Several portions of the work, it is evident, were the familiar lessons of the family; and so happily do these represent Washington's marked moral lineaments that they may be regarded as a striking portrait of him.

In the portion entitled "The Great Audit," the good steward is represented as giving his account to God. And he says:

"As to all the blessings and talents wherewith thou hast intrusted me, I have looked up to thee with a thankful heart, as the only Author and Giver of them. I have looked upon myself as unworthy of them. I have looked upon them as committed to my trust and stewardship, to manage them for the ends that they were given, the honor of my Lord and Master. I have therefore been watchful and sober in the use and exercise of them, lest I should be unfaithful in them. If I have at any time,

* "Contemplations, Moral and Divine," by Sir Matthew Hale, Knight, late Chief Justice of the King's Bench."

through weakness, or inadvertence, or temptation, misemployed any of them, I have been restless, till I have in some measure rectified my miscarriage, by repentance and amendment.

"As touching my Conscience, and the light thou hast given me in it — it has been my care to improve that natural light and to furnish it with the best principles I could. Before I had the knowledge of thy Word, I got as much furniture as I could from the writings of the best moralists and the examples of the best men; after I had the light of thy Word, I furnished it with those pure and unerring principles that I found in it.

"I have been very jealous either of wounding, or grieving, or discouraging, or deadening my Conscience. I have therefore chosen, rather to forbear that which seemed but indifferent, lest there might be somewhat in it that might be unlawful; and would rather gratify my conscience with being too scrupulous, than displease, disquiet, or flat it by being too venturous: I have still chosen rather to forbear what might be probably lawful, than to do that which might be possibly unlawful; because, could I not err in the former, I might in the latter. If things were disputable whether they might be done, I rather chose to forbear, because the lawfulness of my forbearance was unquestionable.

"Concerning my Speech, I have always been careful that I offend not with my tongue; my words have been few, unless necessity or thine honor required more speech than ordinary. My words have been true, representing things as they were; and sincere, bearing conformity to my heart and mind."

"I have esteemed it the most natural and excellent use of my tongue, to set forth thy glory, goodness, power, wisdom, and truth; to instruct others, as I had oppor-

tunity, in the knowledge of thee, in their duty to thee, to themselves, and others; to reprove vice and sin, to encourage virtue and good living; to convince of errors; to maintain the truth; to call upon thy name, and, by vocal prayers, to sanctify my tongue, and to fix my thoughts to the duty about which I was; to persuade to peace and charity and good works."

"Concerning Human Prudence, and understanding in affairs, and dexterity in the managing of them,— I have been always careful to mingle justice and honesty with my prudence; and have always esteemed Prudence, actuated by injustice and falsity, the arrantest and most devilish practice in the world; because it prostitutes thy gift to the service of hell, and mingles a beam of thy Divine Excellence with an extract of the devil's furnishing, making a man so much the worse by how much he is wiser than others.

"I always thought that wisdom which, in a tradesman and in a politician, was mingled with deceit, falsity, and injustice, and deserved the same name; only, the latter is so much the worse, because it was of the more public and general concernment. Yet, because I have often observed great employments, especially in public affairs, are sometimes under great temptations of mingling too much craft and prudence, and then miscall it Policy, I have, as much as may be, avoided such temptations, and if I have met with them, I have resolutely rejected them.

"I have always observed, that Honesty and Plain-dealing in transactions, as well public as private, is the best and soundest prudence and policy; and commonly, at the long run, overmatcheth craft and subtlety, Job xii, 16; for, the deceived and deceiver are thine, and thou art privy to the subtlety of the one, and the simplicity of the other; and thou, as the great Moderator and Observer

of men, dost dispense success and disappointments accordingly.

"As Human Prudence is abused, if mingled with falsity and deceit, though the end be ever so good, so it is much more debased, if directed to a bad end; to the dishonor of thy name, the oppression of thy people, the corrupting of thy worship or truth, or to execute any injustice towards any person.

" It hath been my care, as not to err in the manner, so neither in the end, of the exercising of my Prudence. I have ever esteemed my prudence then best employed, when it was exercised in the preservation and support of thy truth, in the upholding of thy faithful ministers, in countermining, discovering, and disappointing the designs of evil and treacherous men, in delivering the oppressed, in righting the injured, in preventing of wars and discords, in preserving the public peace and tranquillity of the people where I live, in faithful advising of my prince; and in all those offices incumbent upon me, by thy Providence, under every relation.

" When my End was most unquestionably good, I ever then took most heed that the Means were suitable and justifiable. 1. Because, the better the end was, the more easily are we cozened into the use of ill means to effect it. We are too apt to dispense with ourselves in the practice of what is amiss, in order to the accomplishing of an end that is good; we are apt, while with great intention of mind we gaze upon the end, not to take care what course we take so we attain it; and we are apt to think that God will dispense with, or at least overlook, the miscarriages in our attempts, if the end be good.

" 2. Because many times, if not most times, thy name and honor do more suffer by attempting a good end by bad means, than by attempting both a bad end and also

by bad means; for, bad ends are suitable to bad means; they are alike; and it doth not immediately, as such, concern thy honor. But every thing that is good hath somewhat of thee in it; thy name and thy nature and thy honor is written upon it; and the blemish that is cast upon it is, in some measure, cast upon thee; and the evil and scandal and infamy and ugliness that is in the means, is cast upon the end, and doth disparage and blemish it; and consequently it dishonors thee. To rob for burnt-offerings and to lie for God, is a greater disservice to thy majesty, than to rob for rapine or to lie for advantage."

"Touching my eminence of Place or Power, in this world, this is my account. I never sought or desired it, and that for these reasons: 1. Because I easily saw, that it was rather a burden than a privilege. It made my charge and my accounts the greater, my contentment and rest the less. I found enough in it to make me decline it in respect of myself, but not any thing that could invite me to seek or desire it.

"2. The external glory and splendor also that attended it, I esteemed as vain and frivolous in itself, a bait to allure vain and inconsiderate persons to affect and delight, not valuable enough to invite a considerate judgment to desire or undertake it. I esteemed them as the gilt that covers a bitter pill, and I looked through this dress and outside, and easily saw that it covered a state obnoxious to danger, solicitude, care, trouble, envy, discontent, unquietness, temptation, and vexation.

"I esteemed it a condition which, if there were any distempers abroad, they would infallibly be hunting and pushing at it, and if it found any corruptions within, either of pride, vain-glory, insolence, vindictiveness, or the like, it would be sure to draw them out and set them to work."

"And if they prevailed, it made my power and greatness not only my burden but my sin; if they prevailed not, yet it required a most watchful, assiduous, and severely vigilant labor and industry, to suppress them.

"When I undertook any place of power or eminence — First, I looked to my call thereunto to be such as I might discern to be thy call, not my own ambition. Second, that the place were such as might be answered by suitable abilities in some measure to perform. Third, that my end in it might not be the satisfaction of any pride, ambition, or vanity in myself, but to serve thy Providence and my generation, honestly and faithfully. In all which, my undertaking was not an act of my choice, but of my duty.

"3. In the holding or exercising of these places, I kept my heart humble; I valued not myself one rush the more for it. First, because I easily found that that base affection of pride, which commonly is the fly that haunts such employments, would render me dishonorable to thy Majesty, or disserviceable in the employment. Second, because I easily saw great places were slippery places, the mark of envy. It was, therefore, always my care so to behave myself in them, as I might be in a capacity to leave them, and so to leave them, that, when I had left them, I might have no scars and blemishes stick upon me. I carried, therefore, the same evenness of temper in holding them, as might become me if I were without them. Third, I found enough, in great employments, to make me sensible of the danger, troubles, and cares of it; enough to make me humble, but not enough to make me proud and haughty.

"4. I never made use of my power or greatness, to serve my own turns; either to heap up riches, or to oppress my neighbor, or to revenge injuries, or to uphold

or bolster out injustice. For, though others thought me great, I knew myself to be still the same; and in all things, besides the due execution of my place, my deportment was just the same as if I had been no such man; for, first, I knew that I was but thy steward and minister, and placed there to serve thee and those ends which thou proposedst in my preferment, and not to serve myself, much less my passions or corruptions. And, further, I very well and practically knew, that place and honor and preferment are things extrinsical, and have no ingredience into the man. His value and estimate, before, and under, and after his greatness, is still the same in itself; as the counter that now stands for a penny, anon for six-pence, and then for twelve-pence, is still the same counter, though its place and extrinsical denomination be changed.

"5. I improved the opportunity of my place, eminence, and greatness, to serve thee and my country in it, with all vigilance, diligence, and fidelity. I protected, countenanced, and encouraged thy worship, name, day, and people. I did faithfully execute justice, according to that station I had. I rescued the oppressed from the cruelty, malice, and insolence of their oppressors. I cleared the innocent from unjust calumnies and reproaches. I was instrumental to place those in offices, places, and employments of trust and consequence, that were honest and faithful. I removed those that were dishonest, irreligious, false, or unjust."

"Touching my Reputation and Credit,— 1. I never affected the reputation of being rich, great, crafty, or politic; but I esteemed much a deserved reputation of justice, honesty, integrity, virtue, and piety.

"2. I never thought that reputation was the thing primarily to be looked after in the exercise of virtue; for, that were to affect the substance for the sake of the

shadow, which had been a kind of levity and impotence of mind; but I looked at virtue, and the worth of it, as that which was the first desirable, and reputation as a handsome and useful accession to it.

"3. The reputation of justice and honesty I was always careful to keep untainted, upon these grounds. First, because a blemish in my reputation would be dishonorable to thee. Second, it would be an abuse of a talent which thou hadst committed to me. Third, it would be a weakening of an instrument which thou hadst put into my hands, upon the strength whereof much good might be done by me.

"Though I have loved my reputation, and have been vigilant not to lose or impair it, by my own default or neglect, yet I have looked upon it as a brittle thing,—a thing that the devil aims to hit in a special manner,—a thing that is much in the power of a false report, a mistake, a misapprehension, to wound and hurt; and, notwithstanding all my care, I am at the mercy of others, without God's wonderful overruling providence. And as my reputation is the esteem that others have of me; so, that esteem may be blemished without my default. I have, therefore, always taken this care, not to set my heart upon my reputation.

"I will use all fidelity and honesty, and take care it shall not be lost by any default of mine; and if, notwithstanding all this, my reputation be soiled, by evil or envious men or angels, I will patiently bear it, and content myself with the serenity of my own conscience. Hic murus aheneus esto.

"When *thy honor or the good of my country* was concerned, I then thought it was a seasonable time to lay out my reputation for the advantage of either; and to act, it, and by and upon it, to the highest, in the use

of all lawful means. And upon such an occasion, the counsel of Mordecai to Esther was my encouragement,—Esther iv, 14. Who knoweth whether God hath not given thee this reputation and esteem for such a time as this?"

Would American mothers more generally follow the example of the mother of Washington, and, instead of gratifying their children's morbid appetite for popular light literature, cultivate a taste for the teachings of such devout philosophers as Sir Matthew Hale, full many a youthful mind, now sacrificed to sinful folly, might be molded to virtue, piety, and wisdom, and bless our country and mankind.

[Sir Matthew Hale was from 1637 to 1676 one of the greatest of English lawyers, a judge in the Court of Common Pleas from 1653, chief baron of the exchequer (one of the chief courts of the realm), 1660–1671, and lord chief justice till February, 1676. He began to study for the church, with strong Puritanical leanings, but broke away from severe studies to pursue a life of pleasure, and planned to go as a soldier on the Continent, when a visit to London led to his adoption of the law, in which his studies were exceptionally thorough and his attainments brilliant. He was, moreover, an ardent student of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and even anatomy and architecture. In intellectual distinction he was at the highest level of English culture and in pure and noble character one of the finest examples of English genius for the conduct of life. The Encyclopædia Britannica says of his career:

"Hale was called to the bar in 1637, and almost at once found himself in full practice. Though neither a fluent speaker nor bold pleader, in a very few years he was at the head of his profession. He entered public life at perhaps the most critical period of English history. Two parties

were contending in the state, and their obstinacy could not fail to produce a most direful collision. But amidst the confusion Hale steered a middle course, rising in reputation, and an object of solicitation from both parties. Taking Pomponius Atticus as his political model, he was persuaded that a man, a lawyer, and a judge could best serve his country and benefit his countrymen by holding aloof from partisanship and its violent prejudices, which are so apt to distort and confuse the judgment. But he is best vindicated from the charges of selfishness and cowardice by the thoughts and meditations contained in his private diaries and papers, where the purity and honor of his motives are clearly seen. Among his numerous religious writings the "Contemplations, Moral and Divine," occupy the first place. Others are "The Primitive Origination of Man," 1677; "Of the Nature of True Religion," etc., 1684; "A Brief Abstract of the Christian Religion," 1688. One of his most popular works is the collection of "Letters of Advice to His Children and Grandchildren."

A woman disposed to read his "Contemplations" must have been thoroughly initiated in the best English culture; a mother who thought it worth while to read Hale's deeply thoughtful pages to a son was at the level (for our time) of John Stuart Mill or Matthew Arnold. Hale's revolt from his study at Oxford of Aristotle and Calvin left him a Humanist on a broad ethical culture platform, but with some survival of Puritan pietism (enough, unhappily, to betray him into securing the condemnation and execution of two poor women tried before him in 1664 upon the charge of being witches, liable under Bible law, Exodus 22: 18, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.") In Washington (as very clearly in his brother Lawrence), the finest humanism was without taint of the Puritan pietism.]

Another interesting volume of the Washington family

library is still preserved,* and may have exerted a wholesome influence upon the mind of Washington in childhood. It is entitled "Short Discourses upon the Whole Common Prayer; abridged to inform the Judgment and excite the Devotion of such as daily use the same." Its title page bears the autograph of Augustine Washington; and upon the cover leaves of the volume this name of the father is written again and again by his son George in the bold and marked style of his chirography.

It was the lot of Washington to receive from his father, as well as from his mother, the advantages of a sound religious education; but, in common with many worthies who have adorned our race, he points the world to the chief earthly source of his successes,— *home influence, directed by a mother.*

It was a precept of classical mythology, that all who are earth-born are bound to make, on every suitable occasion, an offering to Earth, their good mother, as a tribute of gratitude for her manifold gifts. Beautiful exhibition of filial duty! And it is recorded of Washington that in the spirit of this precept, and actuated by a sacred domestic feeling of love and reverence, he ever remembered his obligations to his "honored" mother, as he habitually entitled her in his letters and in conversation, and that he delighted to associate his regard for her with his life's most eventful epochs, and with its chief honors and successes — with the wreath upon his brow and the flowers strewed along his path.†

On returning from the battle of the Monongahela, he addressed an affectionate letter to her. Before receiving

* In the collection of the Boston Athenæum.

† His letters to Major-General Knox, February 20, 1784, and June 17, 1788.

his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Virginia, he informed her by letter of his probable elevation to that rank. And just before his departure for New York, to be inaugurated President of the United States, he repaired to Fredericksburg to take leave of his "aged mother." It was their last interview. She died a few months after.*

[Of John Washington, the immediate English ancestor of George Washington, who came out of England when the Puritan Calvinist rage was on, in Cromwell's time, Lodge says: "He made complaint to the Maryland authorities, soon after his arrival, against Edward Prescott, merchant, and captain of the ship in which he had come over, for hanging a woman during the voyage for witchcraft. We have a letter of his, explaining that he could not appear at the first trial because he was about to baptize his son, and had bidden the neighbors and gossips to the feast. A little incident this, dug out of the musty records, but it shows us an active, generous man, intolerant of oppression, public-spirited and hospitable, social, and friendly in his new relations. He soon after was called to mourn the death of his English wife and of two children, but he speedily consoled himself by taking a second wife, Anne Pope, by whom he had three children, Lawrence, John, and Anne. According to the Virginian tradition, John Washington the elder was a surveyor, and made a location of lands which was set aside because they had been assigned to the Indians. It is quite apparent that he was a forehanded person who acquired property and impressed himself upon his neighbors. In 1667, when he had been but ten years in the Colony, he was chosen to the House of Burgesses; and eight years later he was

* August, 1789, at the age of eighty-three years.

made a colonel and sent with a thousand men to join the Marylanders in destroying the 'Susquehannocks,' at the 'Piscataway' fort, on account of some murdering begun by another tribe. As a feat of arms, the expedition was not a very brilliant affair. The Virginians and Marylanders killed half a dozen Indian chiefs during a parley, and then invested the fort. After repulsing several sorties, they stupidly allowed the Indians to escape in the night and carry murder and pillage through the outlying settlements, lighting up first the flames of savage war and then the fiercer fire of domestic insurrection."

The note of humanist liberality in the matter of the witch is an important indication of the Washington character from the beginning.

"In the next year," Lodge continues, "we hear again of John Washington in the House of Burgesses, when Sir William Berkeley assailed his troops for the murder of the Indians killed during a parley. Popular feeling, however, was clearly with the colonel, for nothing was done, and the matter dropped. At that point, too, in 1676, John Washington disappears from sight, and we know only that as his will was proved in 1677, he must have died soon after the scene with Berkeley. He was buried in the family vault at Bridges Creek, and left a good estate to be divided among his children. The colonel was evidently both a prudent and popular man, and quite disposed to bustle about in the world in which he found himself. He acquired lands, came to the front at once as a leader, although a newcomer in the country, was evidently a fighting man, as is shown by his selection to command the Virginian forces, and was honored by his neighbors, who gave his name to the parish in which he dwelt. Then he died and his son Lawrence reigned in his stead, and

became by his wife, Mildred Warner, the father of John, Augustine, and Mildred Washington.

"This second son, Augustine, farmer and planter like his forefathers, married first Jane Butler, by whom he had three sons and a daughter, and second, Mary Ball, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. The eldest child of these second nuptials was named George, and was born on February 11 (O. S.), 1732, at Bridges Creek. The house in which this event occurred was a plain, wooden farmhouse of the primitive Virginian pattern, with four rooms on the ground floor, an attic story with a long, sloping roof, and a massive brick chimney. Three years after George Washington's birth it was burned, and the family removed to another estate in Stafford county. The second house was like the first, and stood on rising ground looking across a meadow to the Rappahannock, and beyond the river to the village of Fredericksburg, which was nearly opposite. Here, in 1743, Augustine Washington died somewhat suddenly, at the age of forty-nine, from an attack of gout brought on by exposure in the rain, and was buried with his fathers in the old vault at Bridges Creek. Here, too, the boyhood of Washington was passed, and therefore it becomes necessary to look about us and see what we can learn of this important period of his life.

"We know nothing about his father, except that he was kindly and affectionate, attached to his wife and children, and apparently absorbed in the care of his estates. On his death the children came wholly under the maternal influence and direction."

The sudden fatal illness of Augustine Washington, like that of his illustrious son, from exposure to chill, shows physical refinement and delicacy, along with the robust vigor of body known to have belonged to both.

WASHINGTON'S INTERVIEW WITH HIS MOTHER.

Mrs. Washington influences her son George not to go as midshipman.

"Much has been written about the 'mother of Washington,'" Lodge goes on to say, "but as a matter of fact, although she lived to an advanced age, we know scarcely more about her than we do about her husband. She was of gentle birth, and possessed a vigorous character and a good deal of business capacity. The advantages of education were given in but slight measure to the Virginian ladies of her time, and Mrs. Washington offered no exception to the general rule. Her reading was confined to a small number of volumes, chiefly of a devotional character, her favorite apparently being Hale's 'Moral and Divine Contemplations.' She evidently knew no language but her own, and her spelling was extremely bad even in that age of uncertain orthography. Certain qualities, however, are clear to us even now through all the dimness. We can see that Mary Washington was gifted with strong sense and had the power of conducting business matters providently and exactly. She was an imperious woman, of strong will, ruling her kingdom alone. Above all she was very dignified, very silent, and very sober-minded. That she was affectionate and loving cannot be doubted, for she retained to the last a profound hold upon the reverential devotion of her son, and yet as he rose steadily to the pinnacle of human greatness, she could only say that 'George had been a good boy, and she was sure he would do his duty.' Not a brilliant woman, evidently, not one suited to shine in courts, conduct intrigues, or adorn literature, yet able to transmit moral qualities to her oldest son, which, mingled with those of the Washingtons, were of infinite value in the foundation of a great Republic. She found herself a widow at an early age, with a family of young children to educate and support. Her means were narrow, for although Augustine Washington was able to leave what was called a

landed estate to each son, it was little more than idle capital, and the income in ready money was by no means so evident as the acres."

Lodge errs grievously in implying that we know very little about either the father or the mother of George Washington. For the purpose of the latter's biography we know the most essential facts. Not that they can be read off-hand by the uninstructed student, inexpert in noting the significance of what he reads. It is ignorance of history, in examples like Lord Bacon and William Shakespeare, which permits making anything whatever of the bad spelling of a cultivated lady in the first half of the eighteenth century. Besides, the mistake is singularly unfortunate of saying that we know very little, while yet telling much more than a little which is not only of extreme interest but of decisive importance. The parentage of George Washington, in the light of the "good few" facts which are given, can be read to no small extent through carefully instructed study of the character of the son; but such instruction turns on knowledge of the physiological and psychical complex which a human being commonly is. Lodge further says:

"Many are the myths, and deplorably few the facts, that have come down to us in regard to Washington's boyhood. For the former we are indebted to the illustrious Weems, and to that personage a few more words must be devoted. Weems has been held up to the present age in various ways, usually, it must be confessed, of an unflattering nature, and 'mendacious' is the adjective most commonly applied to him. There has been in reality a good deal of needless confusion about Weems and his book, for he was not a complex character, and neither he nor his writings are difficult to value or understand. By profession a clergyman or preacher, by nature an adventurer, Weems

loved notoriety, money, and a wandering life. So he wrote books which he correctly believed would be popular, and sold them not only through the regular channels, but by peddling them himself as he traveled through the country. In this way he gratified all his propensities, and no doubt derived from life a good deal of simple pleasure. Chance brought him near Washington in the closing days, and his commercial instinct told him that here was the subject of all others for his pen and his market. He accordingly produced the biography which had so much success. Judged solely as literature, the book is beneath contempt. The style is turgid, overloaded, and at times silly. The statements are loose, the mode of narration confused and incoherent, and the moralizing is flat and commonplace to the last degree. Yet there was a certain sincerity of feeling underneath all the bombast and platitudes, and this saved the book. The biography did not go, and was not intended to go, into the hands of the polite society of the great eastern towns. It was meant for the farmers, the pioneers, and the backwoodsmen of the country. It went into their homes, and passed with them beyond the Alleghanies and out to the plains and valleys of the great West. The very defects of the book helped it to success among the simple, hard-working, hard-fighting race engaged in the conquest of the American continent. To them its heavy and tawdry style, its staring morals, and its real patriotism all seemed eminently befitting the national hero, and thus Weems created the Washington of the popular fancy. The idea grew up with the country, and became so ingrained in the popular thought that finally everybody was affected by it, and even the most stately and solemn of the Washington biographers adopted the unsupported tales of the itinerant parson and book-peddler.

"In regard to the public life of Washington, Weems took the facts known to every one, and drawn for the most part from the gazettes. He then dressed them up in his own peculiar fashion and gave them to the world. All this, forming of course nine-tenths of his book, has passed, despite its success, into oblivion. The remaining tenth described Washington's boyhood until his fourteenth or fifteenth year, and this, which is the work of the author's imagination, has lived. Weems, having set himself up as absolutely the only authority as to this period, has been implicitly followed, and has thus come to demand serious consideration. Until Weems is weighed and disposed of, we cannot even begin an attempt to get at the real Washington."

Mr. Lodge could hardly have done worse than in this setting up that we know very little of the facts of Washington's boyhood, when in fact we could not well know more; that the "Life" by Weems created the popular Washington, when in fact Washington with Weems was known as no other man in history has ever been known during his own time; and that we cannot even begin to get at the real Washington until we have critically disposed of the myths of Weems, when in fact, Weems or no Weems, the large and exact knowledge of the real Washington possible to study without taking account of Weems at all, and of Washington in youth as well as maturity, leaves nothing to be desired, except a general casting upon a rubbish heap of the numerous attempts to tell the story of Washington without anything like real study.]

The planters of Virginia being at that period without colleges and academies were compelled to employ private tutors for their children or to content themselves with the very meager instructions to be obtained at common

country schools.* The masters of these schools moreover possessing, not unfrequently, the smallest supposable modi-

*[The famous declaration of Sir William Berkeley, "I thank God that there are no free schools," has been misunderstood. It was said partly in view of the system of home teaching by private tutors, which was maintained, for lack of tutors, on the plan referred to by Berkeley in saying: "Every man teaches his own children." By "free schools" Berkeley meant what we should call "ragged schools," or "mission schools," and his idea was that no respectable man wanted such for his own children instead of home teaching by private tutors or by the parent himself. In fact he assumed that no respectable father would so much as think of schooling by the side of the young of the neglected class for his own sons, and the point of his reason for not wanting "free schools" at all was his conviction that "learning" given to the lower class chiefly resulted in making them smarter for evil — less submissive to order. The Sunday schools started by Robert Raikes at Gloucester in England towards the close of the 18th century had for their sole object schooling for the lowest class who could get none on week days, and a hundred years later a Sunday school, even if carried on in connection with the service of worship, and not as a mission apart, was frequently not used for children of good families, who could have instruction at home, but only for the poor; and as under the system as originated teachers were hired on very low pay, and were very inferior in qualifications, young ladies of any social position commonly thought the service beneath them. American adoption of Sunday schools was on very different lines from the first, because of the extent to which children generally could enjoy common schooling during the week, and only needed for Sunday some variety of religious instruction. In George Washington's youth instruction by his father while he lived was undoubtedly better a great deal than the pretentious, and largely preposterous schooling of which children are the victims at the capital of the state of New York in the first years of the 20th century. And after his father's death the Academy schooling which George Washington had was supplemented by tutoring given him by three or four persons hardly less interested than his father to see him well fitted for the position which he would have in his Virginia life.]

cum of qualifications, had little more capital than self-assurance, a rod and a ferule. And unable to subsist upon the pittance afforded by their school duties, they would add to their literary offices others which sometimes were singularly incongruous.

A rural pedagogue of this motley class, Washington's first preceptor, a tenant of his father's when the family was residing in Westmoreland, was Mr. Hobby, a pretentious, jovial wight, who kept what was called "the old field school;" and who in the comprehensive range of his employments was busied both with the minds and the bodies of his neighbors, combining the functions of schoolmaster, parish sexton, and undertaker. It was his joy to see his most honored pupil rise to the greatest height of his renown; and he would often boast as he recounted anecdotes of the old field school — "It was I who laid the foundation of his greatness!"

Soon after his father's death, Washington was sent from the family residence in Suffolk to the old homestead in Westmoreland county, the house in which he was born, and which was then occupied by his half-brother Augustine. The object had in view was to provide for him a schoolmaster of a higher grade than he who "laid the foundation of his greatness." He was accordingly placed under the care of Mr. Williams, an excellent teacher of the usual branches of an English education, and, in particular, of geography, bookkeeping, and surveying.

Under the guidance of this competent master and worthy man our young pupil vigorously pursued his studies until his fourteenth year (1746), when an incident occurred worthy of especial notice from its important bearing on the future of his history.

This was, his purpose to obtain a midshipman's warrant in the British navy. His half-brother Lawrence who was

at that time a man of consideration in Virginia, being a member of the House of Burgesses and adjutant-general of his district, had served under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth in the West Indies. As captain in the American regiment under command of Col. Alexander Spotswood, raised expressly for the West India service, and for co-operating with the British troops in Vernon's expedition, he was with Wentworth when he undertook in the year 1741 the disastrous siege of Carthagena.*

A midshipman's warrant, obtained through the influence of this half-brother, was put into the hands of our young naval aspirant, greatly to his delight. He made immediate arrangements to embark on board a man-of-war then riding in the Potomac. His baggage was on the ship. All that remained to be done before his departure was to receive his mother's approbation and her blessing. But she had doubts of the advantage of the project. She looked at the many evils associated with scenes of naval service; and she dwelt upon the thought of a separation by which her son, so young in years and in experience, would be taken away forever from the family manse, and from the shrine of its sacred home influences. She refused her consent to his separation from her. And maternal solicitude and filial affection soon blended in deciding that the proposed measure should be relinquished.

[The matter was not decided by the mother upon her own feeling alone. She consulted her brother Joseph in London, who very urgently advised her against the navy as a place for her son, and against sacrificing the promise of his inherited position as a future man of estate in Virginia.]

* Smollett's "History of England," chap. IV, at the beginning; and his "Roderick Random."

The dutiful son's unmurmuring acquiescence, and his surrender in such circumstances of his heart's joy, are a beautiful comment on his mental and moral discipline. And his filial obedience was in harmony with a divine intention. The Unseen was present in the sympathies of that domestic incident. He who controls the fates of men and nations had a higher service than that of a midshipman in reserve for this noble boy.

[The chief agent in getting young Washington a chance to go to sea was a notable neighbor of Lawrence Washington, whose estate of Belvoir was on the Potomac five miles below Mt. Vernon. This neighbor of Lawrence was Hon. William Fairfax, cousin to the sixth Lord Fairfax, whose inheritance from his mother embraced about a fourth part of the whole of Virginia. He was the son of Henry Fairfax, whose wife, Anna Harrison, was sister to the wife of Henry Washington, one of the English Washingtons. Henry Fairfax was the second son of the fourth Lord Fairfax, and in 1691, the year of his son William's birth, he became high sheriff of Yorkshire. The son William was educated at a collegiate school, and went to sea when very young; then served in the British army in Spain; was stationed at St. Helena for a time; and subsequently at the Bahamas, where he married, in 1723, Sarah Walker, a daughter of Major Walker, and was appointed chief justice of the island. About the year 1725, on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, he removed to New England, having received the appointment of collector of the customs at Salem and Marblehead. Here the death of his wife in 1731 left him with four children, George William, born at the Bahamas; Thomas, Anne, and Sarah, born in Salem. He subsequently married Deborah Clarke of Salem, an intimate friend of his first wife, who had expressed, on her death-

bed, the wish that this might take place for the sake of her children. Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, hearing that the agent in charge of his American estates was not faithful to his interests, invited his cousin William to leave New England and become the superintendent of his estates. The offer was accepted in 1734, and he at first took up his residence in Westmoreland county, but subsequently removed to Belvoir, a plantation fourteen miles below Alexandria. His daughter Anne, born in Salem, Mass., about 1726 or 1727, became the wife of Lawrence Washington, whose brother George, fourteen years younger, thus came under the direct influence of William Fairfax, then about fifty-two years of age. A letter of William Fairfax to Lawrence Washington, dated September 10, 1746, when George was fourteen years and six months of age, says: "George has been with us, and says he will be steady, and thankfully follow your advice as his best friend."

It was William Fairfax who "had used his influence to obtain a position for George in the navy, but the mother would not consent to his going to sea, for 'several persons told her it was a bad scheme.'" Mrs. Washington's chief adviser in the matter was her brother, Joseph Ball, residing in London, who wrote as follows:

"I understand you are advised, and have some thoughts of putting your son to sea. I think he had better be put apprentice to a trade, for a common sailor before the mast has by no means the common liberty of the subject; for they will press him from a ship where he has fifty shillings a month, and make him take twenty-three, and cut and beat him like a negro, or rather like a dog. And as to any considerable promotion in the navy it is not to be expected, as there are always so many gaping for it here who have influence, and he has none" (in Meade). p. 50.]

He resumed his studies at the school of Mr. Williams. And he continued to pursue them two years longer until he had almost attained to his sixteenth year. This was an early season for his leaving school, but it was the limit of his opportunities. The schoolboy and the college-student of our day, who bask in the broad light afforded by thoroughly furnished educators and the latest and most improved text-books, too seldom think how few and fitful were the rays which glimmered on the path of our youthful countrymen in the middle of the last century. Yet a compensation for the want of modern artificial helps to learning was afforded by a prevailing stalwart vigor and powerful grasp of thought. And there was then a freedom from the influence of our literary luxuries, which are so tempting to a relaxation of industry in the pursuit of truth.

[It is upon less than adequate discrimination that the view is entertained of a short and meagre schooling of young Washington. For what his natural powers and impulses were, and what his father, mother, brother Lawrence, Mr. William Fairfax, Lord Fairfax, and the school he attended were, it may be doubted whether one in twenty of the university graduates of the present time, in either England or America, stand upon the threshold of active life as well disciplined for it as George Washington was, if not at sixteen, at least at his first encounter with the demands and responsibilities of a career. Even if four-fifths of what the student in school and college to-day spends much time but scant attention upon were not of absolutely no educational account, yet the instances are exceptional in which a boy of rare character and fine mind gets as good personal training during eight years as George Washington got before he entered upon active life. In proportion as we understand what real educa-

tion is, and how much self-education counts, we can see that Washington's actual advantages, with his use of them, brought him out upon the stage of his time remarkably well educated and very exceptionally disciplined.]

At the early period of his schooldays Washington afforded one of the numerous illustrations of a fact which gives such interest to the history of the childhood of great men. With all due allowance for the propensity of imagination to color with bright tints its pictures of early genius it must be admitted that in many cases the mind does, in its first developments, disclose the secret of its leading bent. At the beginning of life's spring, incipient tendrils indicate the nature of a plant formed to climb.

Among his playmates our schoolboy was their umpire and their leader. He won their confidence by his native ingenuousness and his strict regard for truth. He was generous and just, he was proverbially a peacemaker, and his word of honor was a bond. His military predilections also now appeared, not only in his delighting when eleven years of age, as boys so generally do, to play "soldiers," but in his being the master-spirit in many a mimic battle between "the English" and "the French."

He was conspicuous moreover in their sports on account of his feats of strength and agility. Among his favorite recreations, in which he was almost without a rival, were lifting and throwing heavy weights, jumping with a pole, and wrestling. He was celebrated too for fleetness like the swift-footed hero of the Iliad; and in racing with his schoolfellows he surpassed them all. And so great was the power of his arm in youth that he would often throw a stone across the Rappahannock at the lower ferry of Fredericksburg — a feat which few men were able to perform.

"More than fifty years ago," says Mr. Custis,* "I became acquainted with two aged and highly estimable gentlemen, Lawrence and Robin Washington who were distantly related to and had been companions of the Chief in his juvenile days. They spoke of the fine, manly youth; and of his gallant demeanor and daring exploits in horsemanship, and the athletic exercises of that remote period." But the manly exercise in which he most excelled was horsemanship. When a boy of but twelve years of age he resolved to ride a spirited, unbroken colt of his mother's — her favorite sorrel — which had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts of "horse-tamers." He informed his playmates of his purpose, and accordingly a party of them assembled soon after sunrise on the appointed day to see the sport. With great difficulty they penned the mettlesome and fiery animal and after many unsuccessful efforts at length bridled him. The youthful horseman then seized the reins and with a single effort vaulted on the colt's back. Then followed a desperate struggle between horse and rider. The colt could not and would not brook restraint. He had prevailed hitherto and he would prevail again. In all the freedom of his noble nature he had at pleasure ranged the field, snuffed the wind, and thrown off by a bound or leap his waste exuberance. He now reared and sprang. He started violently and suddenly from side to side. He used every instinctive contortion with a view to throw his rider and to regain liberty. It was in vain; his efforts became frantic when he found his master unmoved from his seat, and with a violent, convulsive, furious plunge he fell down dead.

Conscious of the pain which this result would cause his mother Washington frankly told her the story of his con-

* Letter to Charles Brown, April 24, 1851.

duct, and she, in her characteristic manner, said in reply: "I regret the loss of my favorite, but I rejoice in my son who always speaks the truth."

As proofs of his diligence and industry at school, manuscripts written by him in boyhood and filling several quires of paper, exhibit records of his studies in geometry, trigonometry, and surveying; and evince the same regard to neatness and method, and the same care and accuracy which were afterward so conspicuous in his letters, his plans of military operations, and his official documents. There are extant also specimens of his ornamental penmanship, and of his fancy pen-sketch creations of heads half-human, and of nondescript birds, and "gorgons dire."

In a manuscript book which he wrote at the age of thirteen years are copies of notes of hand, bills of exchange, receipts, bonds, indentures, bills of sale, land warrants, leases, deeds, and wills, designed to familiarize him with proper forms for transacting business.

He seems however to have devoted himself in boyhood not merely to intellectual acquirements. He collected and copied out in one of his manuscripts, "Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation." And the general character of these rules, by which he sought to regulate his demeanor, affords the best evidence of his desire to cultivate the elegant courtesies and to practice the moral duties which give refined society its peculiar charm.

Among his rules are the following:—

"1. Read no letters, books, or papers in company; but when there is a necessity for doing it you must ask leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them unless desired; nor give your opinion of them unasked. Also look not nigh when another is writing a letter.

"2. Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

"3. When you meet with one of greater quality than yourself, stop and retire, especially if it be at a door or any strait place, to give way for him to pass.

"4. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

"5. In writing or speaking give to every person his due title, according to his degree, and the custom of the place.

"6. Wherein you reprove another, be unblamable yourself; for example is more prevalent than precepts.

"7. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

"8. In your apparel be modest, and endeavor to accommodate nature rather than to procure admiration.

"9. Associate yourself with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation; for it is better to be alone than in bad company.

"10. Deride no man's misfortune though there seem to be some cause.

"11. Whisper not in the company of others.

"12. Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof.

"13. Be not curious to know the affairs of others; neither approach to those that speak in private.

"14. Undertake not what you cannot perform; but be careful to keep your promise.

"15. Speak not evil of the absent for it is unjust.

"16. Be not angry at table whatever happens; and if you have reason to be so show it not. Put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers, for good humor makes one dish of meat a feast.

"17. When you speak of God or his attributes let it be seriously, in reverence.

" 18. Honor and obey your natural parents though they be poor.

" 19. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

" 20. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called Conscience."

These and similar memoranda of the conventionalities of elegant, social intercourse enabled him to control himself by a well-provided formulary instead of trusting to the hazard of mere impromptu impulses. They were the trellis-work that secured an order, regularity, and beauty which imparted a remarkable propriety and decorum to his conduct at all times and in all circumstances.

There are also extant certain selections in verse, chiefly of a religious character, made by him at this dawning period of his life. They are of little merit as exhibitions of genius in their author, or of poetic taste in their compiler; yet they are indicative of what may be regarded as not less desirable in an intelligent and ingenuous lad of thirteen years of age, an interest in devout sentiments.

He did not enjoy the advantages of a classical education. And not only was he unable to read either Greek or Latin, but he could neither speak nor write in any modern foreign language. While in daily intercouse with French officers, at one period of the Revolution, he was compelled in interchanging opinions with them to rely in general upon the aid of an interpreter.

His decided predilection was for mathematics. The exactness, order, and certainty of its processes always were more congenial to the nature of his mind than any of the charms of belles-lettres.

The only occasion of his being beguiled to compose poetic strains was when, about two years before leaving school, and when the down upon his cheek and chin gave its first distinct hints of his adolescence, he felt some

throbbings of the tender passion. In one of his early manuscripts are found plaintive breathings of this nature, uttered for the relief of his "poor restless heart."

The object of his attachment it is said was Miss Grimes,*

* Or perhaps Mary Bland. [More probably Miss Betsy Fauntleroy. In a communication to "Harper's Weekly," of May 4, 1889, the writer answered as follows the question who was Washington's "Lowland beauty:"

Of late years the opinion has gained that the lady was Sally Cary, who became the wife of George William Fairfax. This has been hitherto my own conviction, based on certain letters found among the papers of Mrs. Fairfax at her death, at Bath, England (1811), at the age of eighty-one. It now appears to me certain that the "Lowland beauty"— Washington's first love — was Miss Betsy Fauntleroy. Under date of 20th May, 1752, Washington writes to "William Fauntleroy, Sr.:"

"Sir.— I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurise, which has reduced me very low; but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor. I have enclosed a letter to her, which should be much obliged to you for the delivery of it. I have nothing to add but my best respects to your good lady and family."

As William Fauntleroy, Sr., had a granddaughter named Elizabeth, it is a fair inference that she was the Betsy referred to. That she was the "Lowland beauty" may be inferred from the fact that the letter in which this phrase occurs, though undated, bears evidence of having been written about the time which the probabilities of such explanation suggest. The letter is addressed "Dear Friend Robin"— possibly Robert Washington of Chotauk, affectionately remembered in his will — and the material part is as follows: "My place of residence is at present at his lordship's, where I might, was my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there's a very agreeable young lady lives in the same house (Col. George Fairfax's wife's sister). But as that's only adding

of Westmoreland, whom he calls his "lowland beauty," and who afterward, as Mrs. Lee, was the mother of Gen. Henry Lee, so famous in the Revolutionary War as "Light Horse Harry," and always regarded by Washington with particular favor. But his "young love" was not declared, although it occasioned for more than two years the inquietude and depression of spirits usual in such cases.

[With the letter of May 20, 1752, to William Fauntleroy, Sr., in regard to a "purpose to wait on Miss Betsy [Fauntleroy], in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor," and with "a letter enclosed to her," it seems unnecessary to look in any other direction for the object of young Washington's interest. It can be readily understood that he was not a lady's man as the average good-looking youth may readily be. He was large, awkward, emotional, and bashful, with nothing to give him self-possession with people beyond the circle of his familiar friends. He was not long in acquiring the poise of self-command and self-carriage, but the earliest falling in love antedated that particular discipline.]

Writing to a young companion whom he calls his "dear

fuel to fire, it makes me the more uneasy, for by often and unavoidably being in company with her revives my former passion for your Lowland beauty; whereas, was I to live more retired from young women, I might eleviate in some measure my sorrows by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in the grave of oblivion or etearnall forgetfulness, for as I am very well assured, that's the only antidote or remedy that I ever shall be relieved by or only recess that can administer any cure or help to me, as I am well convinced, was I ever to attempt anything, I should only get a denial which would be only adding grief to uneasiness." This letter, written after George Fairfax's marriage (17th December, 1748), and before the journey to the Barbadoes (September, 1751), was probably written in the earlier part of 1751.]

friend Robin," he remarks that female society tended to keep alive his passion, whereas, says he, by living "more retired from young women, I might, in some measure, alleviate my sorrows, by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in the grave of oblivion."

This natural and venial indulgence in youthful romancing — although rather precocious in a boy of fourteen years — would not perhaps deserve to be mentioned, did it not show that Washington's mind, even at that period of his deepest interest in his studies, was not so absorbed in theorems and computations as to be unconscious of nature's gentlest sympathies, and insensible to impressions associated with life's purest and most refined delights. His mind was sturdy, but his heart was ever gentle and susceptible.

In the estimate we form of the illustrious and the great, we are apt to be misled by the supposition, that, in the range of their passions and emotions, they are not as other men. And the dazzling halo of this illusion often imparts to them vague and mysterious associations, by which their example is often greatly diminished in its influence. It is pleasing therefore to record in the history of Washington that he was no ideal and unreal creation; that he had, as we have, a heart as well as a head; that he, as all other children, in their development of manhood, passed through the metamorphoses of child, little man, boy soldier, lad, youth, lover; and that he is to be regarded not as an inimitable paragon, to excite wonder and admiration, but as a beautiful model, for all young persons who would practice filial obedience, truth, and honesty, diligence in study, decorum in behavior, and whatever else is commendable in a lad or young man, at home and at school, in sports among playmates, and in amusements and recreations of the social circle.

They who would emulate the achievements of his manhood should study and imitate the virtues of his early youth. When, at the close of the Revolutionary War, Lafayette, about to depart for France, paid a farewell visit to the mother of Washington, and mingled with his adieus a glowing encomium on her illustrious son, she replied, in her characteristic manner and in memorable words, "I am not surprised at what George has done, for he was always a *good boy.*"

CHAPTER III.

INCIDENTS OF HIS YOUTH.

1748–1752.

SOON after leaving school (1748), Washington became for a time an inmate in the family of his eldest half-brother Lawrence, on his large patrimonial estate, which then comprised 2,500 acres, and which he called Mount Vernon, in compliment to the admiral under whom he served in the West Indies.

This half-brother, whom his father sent to England for his education, had enjoyed what were at that time uncommon advantages, social and intellectual; and his improvement of them appeared in his mental acquirements, his cultivated manners, and his elegant accomplishments. He was very affectionately attached to his half-brother George; and it was his ambition and delight to aid and counsel him in all his studies, and to contribute in every way to his welfare and advancement, while he now prosecuted his mathematical studies and prepared himself for the duties of a scientific practical surveyor. The daily conversation and the countless little hints and suggestions of such a mentor as his highly-educated brother Lawrence were to our ingenuous young student, then in his seventeenth year, heaven's special provision suited to his case, as refreshing, fertilizing dew to the surrounding green pastures.

Three years before this time, Lawrence had married Anne Fairfax, eldest daughter of William Fairfax, of

Fairfax county, Virginia, who had served in the British army in Spain, the East Indies, and New Providence. He had been also Governor of New Providence, Chief Justice of the Bahamas, and President of His Majesty's council in Virginia.

[From New Providence in the West Indies, after some years of service there, William Fairfax had been transferred to Salem, Massachusetts, upon his request for a change from the unfavorable climate of the Bahamas; and there his daughter Anne was born — a Massachusetts girl therefore; there also Anne's mother died, and a Salem lady, who had been her intimate friend, became in due time her father's second wife. After nine years at Salem, in charge of the customs there, William Fairfax was persuaded by Lord Thomas Fairfax, of whom he was a cousin, to settle in Virginia, as agent for the survey, sale, and general care of the lands held by Lord Fairfax. The fine estate of Belvoir, five miles down the Potomac from Mount Vernon, was the home of William Fairfax, with his Massachusetts wife, while his Massachusetts daughter was the mistress of Mount Vernon. In both of these houses George Washington was at home, as he also was with Lord Fairfax at Greenway Court, a house which he occupied.]

The alliance of Lawrence Washington with a daughter of such a person opened the way for his brother George's acquaintance with the Fairfax family, and eventually for his intimate friendship with the most prominent member of the family, Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, who was a man of education and of great moral worth. He was a graduate of Oxford University, and the contributor, it is said, of some of the papers in Addison's Spectator. He held a commission also in a regiment of horse.

Descended from an ancient baronial family, and in-

heriting a large fortune, his lordship had moved in the best circles of English society. It was his lot however to be grievously disappointed in an affair of the heart. He sought seclusion from the gay world. On visiting his American estates in Virginia, which he inherited from his mother, he was charmed with the people, the country, and the climate; and he resolved to bid adieu to old associates and to settle in the New World.

His mother was Catharine, daughter of Thomas, Lord Culpeper, and the estates in Virginia, which he inherited from her, comprehended, according to the original grant which Lord Culpeper received from Charles II, all the lands between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. These lands, it was estimated, contained 5,700,000 acres.* They included a tract of country comprising about a seventh part of the present area of Virginia, and are now divided into twenty-one counties.† For several years William Fairfax, as his lordship's agent, superintended these estates.

Lord Thomas, as he was called, was a man of remarkable appearance. He was tall, muscular, and swarthy, with prominent features, and of an uncommonly large frame. He took up his permanent residence on a domain which he named "Greenway Court," thirteen miles southeast of Winchester, capital of Frederick county. There he lived upon his rents, paying little attention to the

* Barnaby's "Travels through the Middle Settlements in America in the years 1759 and 1760, with Observations upon the State of the Colonies," p. 159. The whole State comprises thirty-nine millions two hundred and sixty-five thousand acres.

† The counties of Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Westmoreland, Stafford, King George, Prince William, Fairfax, Loudon, Fauquier, Culpeper, Clarke, Madison, Page, Shenandoah, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick.

cultivation of his grounds, for he preferred the wildness of primeval forest scenery. He led the life of a bachelor and occupied a single clapboard story-and-a-half house.* From the abundance of his pecuniary means, he dispensed his hospitalities and benefactions, especially among the middle and lower classes of the community, in so liberal a manner and in so noble a spirit that he won for himself universal admiration and esteem. He became the principal magistrate of Frederick county, and presided at the Winchester provincial courts; and, in the French and Indian War, he led the troops of his county to the aid of Washington, then Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial Army of Virginia.

During the war for independence however he had no sympathy with his gallant young friend, for he continued to the last hour of his long life — having attained to the age of ninety-two — a loyal subject of Great Britain.

His death occurred soon after the capture of Cornwallis, and, it is said, was hastened by the effect produced upon his mind by that event. He had scarcely heard the tidings, when he said to his body-servant, "Come, Joe, carry me to my bed; for I'm sure 'tis high time for me to die."

He gave the land on which was erected, at Winchester, the first Episcopal church built in the Valley of Virginia. Under the chancel of that church his body was deposited in a coffin mounted with massive silver; and when the old church was taken down and replaced by the new one, his remains were removed, and honored with a renewal of the special mark of distinction previously bestowed

* [Precisely the style of house in which George Washington was born.]

on them. A monumental slab was also erected to his memory.

When first he met the future chief, he had just come to America, at the age of fifty-seven years, to reside on his domain. He was, at this time, an inmate at Belvoir, the residence of his kinsman and agent, a short distance from Mount Vernon. There, in addition to other sons and daughters in the family, was the highly-educated eldest son of William Fairfax, George William, then about twenty-two years of age, with his bride and her sister, accomplished daughters of Colonel Carey, of Virginia.

In the almost daily society of such persons, young Washington enjoyed rare opportunities for intellectual and social culture. His character was appreciated by them. He won their esteem by his sterling integrity, his ingenuousness, and his sound good sense. And Lord Thomas was particularly attached to him.

His lordship, fond of hunting, kept his horses and his hounds. And his young American friend, also greatly delighting in the chase, became the companion of the old nobleman in his favorite sport, and shared with him many of his adventures "by field and flood."

When his lordship soon after resolved to reclaim large portions of the choicest of his lands from settlers who occupied them without right or title, it was an essential prerequisite that the property should be surveyed and divided into lots. Washington's exercises, from time to time, in the practical use of his surveyor's instruments, on his brother's grounds, not only were observed with interest by the families at Mount Vernon and Belvoir, but led Lord Fairfax to entertain a very favorable opinion of his young friend's acquirements. To him therefore he confided the proposed important and laborious service.

Washington was then just entering his seventeenth

year (March, 1748). But he was remarkable for his knowledge and skill as a practical surveyor; and not less for other qualifications, personal and moral, just as necessary for the due performance of his task.

It was, on many accounts, an arduous and perilous undertaking. But our youthful adventurer, accompanied by the Hon. William Fairfax's son, George William, set out for the Alleghany mountains and the South Branch of the Potomac on his hazardous expedition, the privations and fatigues of which are recorded in a journal written by him at the time. The entries are often very brief and general; but they afford striking pictures of the scenes through which he passed, and give many interesting details of his experiences in border life, and in the hardships of the backwoodsman.

[The surveys had been going on for some time in charge of a regularly-licensed surveyor, and Washington did no more than to take part in them. He was not at first in possession of a license, which was necessary to make a survey legal. He merely assisted therefore, or, having made a special survey, secured the signature on it of a licensed surveyor. In due time he obtained a license and was able to authenticate with his own name the surveys which he made. See the more full statement later on.]

JOURNAL OF JOURNEY OVER THE MOUNTAINS.

"March 13th (1748). Rode to his lordship's quarter. About four miles higher up the river Shenandoah, we went through most beautiful groves of sugar-trees, and spent the best part of the day in admiring the trees, and the richness of the land.

"14th. We sent our baggage to Captain Hite's, near Fredericktown, and went ourselves down the river about sixteen miles — the land exceedingly rich all the way, producing abundance of grain, hemp, and tobacco — in order to lay off some land on Cate's Marsh and Long Marsh.

"15th. Worked hard till night, and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room; and I, not being so good a woodsman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly and went into the bed, as they called it, when, to my surprise, I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheet or any thing else but only one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up and put on my clothes and lie as my companions did. Had we not been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep so no more, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire.

"18th. We traveled to Thomas Berwick's on the Potomac, where we found the river exceedingly high by reason of the great rains that had fallen among the Alleghanies. They told us it would not be fordable for several days, it being now six feet higher than usual, and rising. We agreed to stay till Monday. We this day called to see the famed Warm Springs.* We camped out in the field this night.

"20th. Finding the river not much abated we in the evening swam our horses over to the Maryland side.

"21st. We went over in a canoe, and traveled up the Maryland side all day, in a continued rain, to Colonel Cresap's, over against the mouth of the South Branch, about forty miles from our place of starting in the

* In Bath county, in the central part of Virginia.

morning, and over the worst road, I believe, that ever was trod by man or beast.

"23d. Rained till about 2 o'clock, and then cleared up, when we were agreeably surprised at the sight of more than thirty Indians coming from war, with only one scalp. We had some liquor with us, of which we gave them a part. This, elevating their spirits, put them in the humor of dancing. We then had a war dance. After clearing a large space and making a great fire in the middle, the men seated themselves around it, and the speaker made a grand speech, telling them in what manner they were to dance. After he had finished, the best dancer jumped up as one awaked from sleep and ran and jumped about the ring in a most comical manner. He was followed by the rest. Then began their music, which was performed with a pot half full of water and a deerskin stretched tight over it, and a gourd with some shot in it to rattle, and a piece of horse's tail tied to it to make it look fine. One person kept rattling and another drumming all the while they were dancing.

"25th. Left Cresap's and went up to the mouth of Patterson's creek. There we swam our horses over the Potomac, and went over ourselves in a canoe, and traveled fifteen miles, where we camped.

"26th. Traveled up to Solomon Hedge's, Esquire, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace in the county of Frederick, where we camped. When we came to supper, there was neither a knife on the table nor a fork, to eat with; but, as good luck would have it, we had knives of our own.

"28th. Traveled up the South Branch — having come to that river yesterday — about thirty miles to Mr. J. R.'s (horse-jockey), and about seventy miles from the mouth of the river.

"29th. This morning went out and surveyed 500 acres of land. Shot two wild turkeys.

"30th. Began our intended business of laying off lots.

"April 2d. A blowing, rainy night. Our straw, upon which we were lying, took fire; but I was luckily preserved by one of our men's awaking when it was in a flame. We have run off four lots this day.

"4th. This morning Mr. Fairfax left us with the intention to go down to the mouth of the river. We surveyed two lots and were attended with a great company of people — men, women, and children — who followed us through the woods, showing their antic tricks. They seem to be as ignorant a set of people as the Indians. They would never speak English, but when spoken to they all spoke Dutch. This day our tent was blown down by the violence of the wind.

"6th. The last night was so intolerably smoky that we were obliged to leave our tent to the mercy of the wind and fire. Attended this day by the aforesaid company.

"7th. This day one of our men killed a wild turkey that weighed twenty pounds. We surveyed 1,500 acres of land and returned to Vanmeter's about 1 o'clock. I took my horse and went up to see Mr. Fairfax. We slept in Cassey's house, which was the first night I had slept in a house since we came to the Branch.

"8th. We breakfasted at Cassey's and rode down to Vanmeter's to get our company together, which, when we had accomplished, we rode down below the Trough to lay off lots there. The Trough is a couple of ledges of mountains, impassable, running side by side for seven or eight miles and the river between them. You must ride round the back of the mountains to get below them. We camped in the woods and after we had pitched our tent and made a large fire, we pulled out our knapsack to recruit

ourselves. Every one was his own cook. Our spits were forked sticks, our plates were large chips. As for dishes we had none.

"10th. We took our farewell of the Branch and traveled over hills and mountains to Coddy's, on Great Cacapehon, about forty miles.

"12th. Mr. Fairfax got safe home; and I to my brother's house at Mount Vernon; which concludes my journal."

He received, the year after the time of this excursion (1749), the appointment of public surveyor. And he prosecuted the duties of this office with diligence, traversing wild lands between the Potomac and the Rappahannock.

The original record of his appointment is still extant in one of the books in the county clerk's office at the town of Fairfax, the county-seat of Culpeper. It is in these words:

"20th July, 1749 (o. s.) George Washington, Gent., produced a commission from the president and master of William and Mary College appointing him to be surveyor of this county, which was read, and thereupon he took the usual oaths to his Majesty's person and government and took and subscribed the abjuration oath and test and then took the oath of surveyor according to law."

The privations and rough fare of his life in the woods continued for three years. Writing to a friend he says: "Since you received my letter in October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed; but, after walking a good deal all day I have lain down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bear's-skin, whichever was to be had with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the

fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit my going out, and sometimes six pistoles.* The coldness of the weather will not allow of my making a long stay as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericktown."†

[There is no indication to what time this letter applies; but probably the early winter (perhaps of 1749) in connection with an expedition "To Survey the Land at the mouth of the Little Cacapehon and the mouth of Fifteen Mile Creek for the Gentlemen of the Ohio," as a "Mem." set down by Washington, later than his record of surveys made in the expedition of March and April, 1748. This "Mem." we shall refer to again presently, in the account given below of the record of travel and surveys made by Washington. There is no ground for assuming that for three years the surveying work was going on all the time, or the most of the time. In the letter to "Dear Friend Robin," without date, but in the "surveying" period, young Washington writes that his "place of residence at present is at his Lordship's" (then at the Belvoir Fairfax house), and he talks of passing his time there, evidently not just then engaged in surveying.

The quotations given above do not adequately reflect the real facts, not only from omission of important items, but from failure to note the significance of the whole record. The first entry is: "Friday, March 11th. Began my journey in company with Mr. George Fairfax, Esq.:

* Equivalent to $20.

† Manuscript letter appended to his journal, and addressed to a friend whom he calls "Dear Richard." It is evidently a rough draft of what he sent to his friend.

we travelled this day 40 miles." The second entry is: "Saturday, March 12th. Mr. James Genn, the surveyor, came to us: we travelled over the Blue Ridge to Capt. Ashby's on Shenandoah River." Then follows: "Sunday, March 13. Rode to his Lordship's Quarter," etc.

Mr. James Genn, it will be seen, was "the surveyor," and the party, having travelled thus far in three days, went on sixteen miles farther, "in order to lay off some Land on Cates Marsh and Long Marsh." On Tuesday, "We set out early with intent to run round the said Land, but being taken in a rain, and it increasing very fast obliged us to return. It clearing about one o'clock, we a second time ventured out and worked hard till night, then returned to Pennington's (Capt. Isaac Pennington's, where they had put up the day before.) This was a single survey, the mere laying off of a large plot of land. On the 16th the party "set out early and finished about one o'clock, and then travelled up to Fredericktown; took a review of the town, and returned to our Lodgings where we had a good dinner prepared for us: wine and rum punch in plenty; and a good feather bed with clean sheets." The next day rain detained them, but on clearing they went on twenty-five miles, and that night "had a tolerable good bed to lay on." The following day travelled thirty-five miles to the Potomac, "then about six foot higher than usual by reason of the great rains," and "camped out in the field" that night. The 20th was Sunday, with the river not much abated, and in the evening they "swam their horses over and carried them to Charles Polks in Maryland for pasturage till the next morning." Travelled the next day up the Maryland side of the Potomac about forty miles to Colonel Cresaps, "right against the mouth of the South Branch." The continued rain on the next day kept the party at Cresaps. The next day's report

was of more rain and seeing a party of Indians; and nothing more than the Indians again on the following day, the 24th. On the 25th an advance to Paterson's creek, and thence fifteen miles up that stream, and camped out. Further up the stream the next day to Solomon Hedges; then on Sunday, the day after, travelled from Hedges over to the South Branch, "in order to go about intended work of lots." On Monday went on up the South Branch "about 30 miles to Mr. James Rutlidges;" and Tuesday, 29th, "This morning went out and surveyed 500 acres of land, and went down to one Michael Stumps on the South Fork of the Branch." On Wednesday, 30th: "This morning began our intended business of laying off lots. We began at the boundary line of the northern 10 miles above Stumps, and run off two lots and returned to Stumps." Thursday, 31st, "run off three lots, and returned to our camping place at Stumps." Friday, April 1st, "run off three lots and returned to camp." Saturday, April 2d, "run off four lots this day which reached below Stumps." On Sunday, the 3d, after a night in which the wind carried quite off their tent, so that they were "obliged to lie the latter part of the night without covering," "several persons came to see us," and "one of our men shot a wild turkey." Monday, April 4th: "This morning Mr. Fairfax left us with intent to go down by the mouth of the Branch. We did two lots, and was attended by a great company of people as we went through the woods. They speak all Dutch. This day our tent was blown down by the violentness of the wind." Tuesday, 5th, "we went out and did four lots, attended by the same company of people." That night "was so intolerably smoky that we were obliged all hands to leave the tent to the mercy of the wind and fire." On Wednesday, 6th, attended by the same company until about twelve o'clock,

WASHINGTON'S FIRST INTERVIEW WITH MRS. CUSTIS, AFTERWARDS MRS. WASHINGTON.

"when we finished," and travelled down the Branch about thirty miles. Caught in a very heavy rain, they "got under a straw house until the worst of it was over." The next morning "surveyed 1,500 acres of land and returned about one o'clock." About two "heard that Mr. Fairfax was at Peter Cassey's about two miles off; took my horse and went up to see him; slept in Cassey's house which was the first night I had slept in a house since I came up to the Branch." Friday, 8th, "We breakfasted at Cassey's (Washington and Fairfax) and rode down together to Van Metris's to get all our company together. Rode down below the Trough in order to lay off lots there. Laid off one this day. Camped this night in the woods (instead of at some settler's place). After we had pitched our tent and made a very large fire, we pulled out our knapsack, in order to recruit ourselves. Every one was his own cook. Our spits was forked sticks, our plates a large chip." This exceptional experience is used by Bancroft to show what sort of hard life Washington had to live as a surveyor. The record shows how they commonly camped where a settler's house was available for their meals, if not for beds, and how in one house there were no knives, "but, as good luck would have it, we had knives of our own" (at Solomon Hedges, March 26th). Moreover, the very next day, the record is, "Saturday, 9th: Set the surveyors to work, whilst Mr. Fairfax and myself stayed at the tent." Their rations were exhausted, and they had to go without until, at four or five in the evening, they "could get some from the neighbors," as they had all along done until these two days deep in the woods. The two young gentlemen, Washington and Fairfax, were in charge of a party of surveyors; and on this day the former says of himself and his companion, after they got something to eat in the evening, "We then took

leaves of the rest of our company, and rode down to John Colins in order to set off the next day homewards." The next day was Sunday, April 10th, and the two young men "travelled over hills and mountains to Coddy's, on Great Cacapehon, about forty miles." The next day they travelled to Fredericktown, and the day after a further long journey to get over the Ridge. A third day brought them home.

These records show twelve days of surveying in thirty-four days, and in four special places, without the least attempt anywhere at a general survey. They do not show Washington acting as a surveyor, but merely taking a hand in the work being done by a party of surveyors. It was a year and four months after this before Washington had a license under which he could himself act as a surveyor, and even then he did no more than to execute special surveys. In one only of the four situations mentioned above were any considerable number of lots surveyed, and only seven days were necessary for this; nor was it Washington's work; it was the work of a party of surveyors under Mr. Genn, "the surveyor," in which Washington assisted in only a minor way. The whole story of Lord Fairfax wanting his domain surveyed, and intrusting Washington at sixteen with the work, and the latter going on as a surveyor for three years, until he was nineteen, is unhistorical. For the first half nearly of the three years, until July, 1749, Washington was not a surveyor and could only work at it under some one who was. For the second half, and a little more, of the three years, he did no more than to execute special surveys, laying off an estate here, and a group of lots there. The record of the early work, as given above, has never been fully and correctly given. Even Mr. W. C. Ford's edi-

tion, with all its pretension to reproduce the original, leaves the whole matter in confusion.

There is in the Department of State at Washington an ancient blank-book, originally of very nice quality, which has in it the record which Washington made of the first weeks of his active life, in March and April, 1748, when he was a youth of sixteen. The new edition of "Washington's Writings" draws first from this book, and by comparison with the original we soon see how Mr. Ford works.

Mr. Ford omits, at the top of page 1, volume I, the title to what he calls "the earliest manuscript that I have found, except his studies in surveying and summaries of his reading," and of which he says that it "is printed from the original in the Department of State." The original begins: "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains. began Fryday the 11th of March 1747–8." Mr. Ford omits this, and gives in place of it, "Journal of a Survey, 1748," which is not in the original. Not only so, but Mr. Ford is entirely wrong in putting the title "Journal of a Survey" to the document which Washington called "Journal of my Journey."

The original which Mr. Ford has used is in a small blank-book, on the front cover of which is a remnant of the clasp, showing this to be the front cover, and the inscription written with a pen,

Journey over the Mountains in 1747 —
Survey Notes
Youthful letters
Mem^{s} &c.

A little scrutiny shows that at one and the same time Washington made a double use of the book. On the first page, in the front of the book, he begins a Journal-Record

of his Surveys, as follows: "March ye 15th, 1747–8 Surveyed for George Fairfax, Esq.r. a Tract of Land lying on Cotes Marsh and Long Marsh beginning at three Red Oaks Fx on a Ridge the No. side a spring Branch being corner to the 623 acre Tract," etc. The record of this survey fills the first page and two-thirds of the second. The third page has the record of another survey, beginning: "March 29, 1748, Surveyed for Mr James Rutlidge ye following a piece of Land Beginning at 3 W. O. in ye Mannor Line by a Path leading to ye Clay Lick," etc.

On page 4 begins a record of Surveys of lots, numbered Lot 1, Lot 2, etc., to Lot 20, and ending at the top of page 12. This record has the heading "The Courses and Distances of ye Several Lots lay'd of on ye So Fork of Wappacomo Began March 30th 1748." Lots 1 and 2 are placed under March 30th, Lots 3 to 8 under March 31st, Lots 9 to 12 under April 2d, Lots 13 and 14, and the "Courses of ye Fork," under April 4th, Lots 15 to 18 under April 5th, and Lots 19 and 20 under April 6th.

On page 13 of the book follows a memorandum of "The Manner how to Draw up a Return when Surveyed for His Lordship or any of ye Family." It begins: "March 15th, 1747–8 Then Survey'd for George Fairfax Esqr. Three Thousand and Twenty Three Acres of Land lying in Frederick County on Long Marsh Joyning Thomas Johnstones Land and bounded as follows." The description follows, five lines on page 13, to the top of page 15. The memorandum indicates that the return was to be signed as follows:

JAMES GENN

GEORGE ASHBY } *Chainmen*
RICHARD TAYLOR }
ROBERT ASHBY *Marker*
WM. LINDSEY *Pilot*

Genn was, as we have seen, an authorized surveyor, which Washington at the time was not, although he became so later by obtaining a license from William and Mary College, upon an examination duly passed.

The three following leaves, pages 16–21, are torn out, with the writing on them. Page 22 has, on the top half, "The Courses of the Town of Alexandria," and "The Measures of the River," with half a dozen lines under the latter head. Then begins a series of letters, or drafts, the first, addressed to "Dear Sir," breaking off at the top of the next page, and directly followed, to the middle of page 25, with a letter addressed, "Dear Friend John." Substantially the same letter, addressed, "Dear Friend Robin," follows, from the top of page 26 to the middle of page 28. A letter, addressed "Dear Sally," follows on pages 29 and 30. At the top of page 31 a letter was begun, "Dear Sir It would be the greatest satisfaction," and then broken off, but these few words show a care with the pen distinctly better than the usual hand of the writer, but not another hand. There comes next a "Memorandum to have my Coat made by the following Directions," which extends to the middle of page 32. Thence forward pages 33 to 50 are blank. Pages 52 to 55 had been torn out, apparently blank, and a letter, addressed "Dear Richard," is written on pages 51 and 56. At the top of page 57 is written: "Mem. To Survey the Land at the Mouth of the Little Cacapehon and the Mouth of Fifteen Mile Creek for the gentlemen of the Ohio Com:" Two-thirds of the next page, the 58th, contains a letter beginning: "I heartily congratulate you on the happy news of my Brother's safe arrival *in health* in England, and am joy'd to hear that his stay is likely to be so short." The next thirty-five pages are blank, counting two in one place, and eight in another, torn out.

Then we come to writing which is the other side up, being thirty-four pages, and two or three blank pages, which begin from the other end of the volume, the back end. On pages 1 to 24 occurs what Washington entitled, "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains. began Fryday the 11th of March 1747–8." It is very plain that while entering in the front of the book his Surveys, in the form both of records and of a journal, Washington turned the book round and entered his journal of travel. Mr. Ford copies the journal of travel (as we have done above), omits the title which stands at the head of the first page of the document itself, and puts to it the title properly belonging to the document in the front end of the book, which he does not copy, the journal-record of surveys. Mr. Ford's first page thus begins with an inexcusable omission of what Washington wrote, and a substitution of something written by himself, which is inapplicable and untrue.

In a note to his false title, Mr. Ford carries error and misstatement still further. He says: "This is the earliest manuscript of Washington's that I have found, except his studies in surveying and his summaries of his reading, and is printed from the original in the Department of State. It possesses little interest apart from its early date. Lord Fairfax claimed under a patent of James II all of what is now the lower end of the Shenandoah valley, and it was by his directions that Washington surveyed it." There are about as many errors as phrases in this note. The claim of Lord Fairfax was simply that of inheritance from his mother, daughter of Lord Thomas Culpeper, who finally held a limited, though still immense, estate, under an agreement on his part which very greatly modified the effect of the original patent. The limit, however, of the estate, as Culpeper's daughter left it to her son, is very

inadequately described by saying "the lower end of the Shenandoah valley," since it went well into the Alleghany mountains beyond. And, whatever were the limits, it is most incorrect to say that "Washington surveyed it." One of the earliest letters of Washington speaks of "the other Surveyors," in connection with his request for directions as to "the Surveying of Cacapehon." Both before Washington began, and while he was engaged, there were "other surveyors," who must have done much more than he did; and in this first instance Washington, even if he had general direction as well as gave assistance, was not himself the surveyor. His journal of the second day says, as we have seen, "Mr. James Genn, the Surveyor, came to us." His memorandum of a proper return of one of the surveys shows that it was to bear the signature of Genn as surveyor, and the names of four others, two chainmen, a marker and a pilot, and not Washington's name at all. The journal of April 9th says: "Set the Surveyors to work, whilst Mr. Fairfax and myself stayed at the tent." The fact was that Washington was not yet a surveyor; and that when, nearly a year and a half later, he took out a license and thus became one, he was by no means the only one, and did not anything like survey the domain at large of Lord Fairfax. No one in fact "surveyed it," in the sense of a general survey. Here and there estates, farms, or lots were marked off by reference only to arbitrarily chosen points and bounds.

Mr. Ford says that the Journal of a Journey is the earliest manuscript, etc.; but this leaves out of view the much greater amount of matter which Washington wrote in the front of the volume, at the back end of which, reversing the book, he wrote the journal of his journey. This matter consists of a record of the surveys made, and of the series of letters, some idea of which we have given. With

very slight exceptions the whole is of extreme interest, and ought to have been printed, with ample notes of explanation. It is certainly of interest to find from two portions of what Mr. Ford leaves out, that the first survey made was to mark off for George William Fairfax an estate of 3,023 acres, on Long Marsh. Every word of the letters which follow the record of surveys should be given, as only by seeing all can one judge what they really are, whether they are mere drafts never used, or actual letters, and what autobiographical significance they have.

Mr. Ford says that he has printed from the original. His preface tells us of his rule that "wherever possible, the original is used," and he further says, "I have been specially fortunate in my copyist, to whose industry and accuracy I gladly pay some tribute." But as early as the tenth line on the first page there is the palpable blunder of reading "spent the *last* part of the Day in admiring the Trees and Richness of the Land," when the original most plainly has "*best* part of the Day." In the thirteenth line of page 2, in "Had we not have been," the "have" is carelessly left out. At the twentieth and twenty-sixth lines on page 3, "men" is read for "they," and "full" is inserted into "Pot half of water." In line 6, page 4, "our" is inserted into "knives of own," and "own" bracketed as not in the text, when it is there most plainly. At line 4, page 5, "by" is carelessly put for "*to* the mouth of the Branch;" at line 18 we have "up till about 12 o'clock," for "untill." On page 6, at line 18, "untill about 4" has the "about" left out, while the next line omits the "our" in "We then took our leaves."

These half score of perfectly palpable and needless mistakes, within half a dozen pages, bring us to page 7, twenty-five lines of which are occupied with the "Dear Richard" letter, "printed from the original," and, as Mr. Ford's

preface promises, with "the fulness and accuracy of detail even to an extreme," every letter, punctuation, or want of it, use of capital letters, bad spelling, etc., etc., to meet "the requirements of the modern historical method." The "industry and accuracy" of "my copyist," in this letter of twenty-five lines, must have gone on a vacation, as the copy printed by Mr. Ford contains eighty-five variations from the perfectly legible and plain original. It is in fact from some previously printed copy, which a corrector had altered throughout, and not even a glance at the original has been taken, sufficient to detect so large an omission as that of the words "like a Negro," in the close of the letter. The original has, "I have never had my Cloths of but lay and sleep in them like a Negro except the few Nights I have lay'n in Frederick Town." Mr. Ford has it, "I have never had my clothes off, but lay & sleep in them, except the few nights I have lay'n in Frederic Town." An editor and copyist who can't together see a Negro so conspicuously manifest will have to be content with being a mutual admiration society of two. The other chief errors of Mr. Ford's copy of this letter are hardly less excusable. The original says, "Dubbleloon," "Birth nearest the fire," "Parcel of Doggs or Catts," "Little Hay Straw Fodder or bairskin," but Mr. Ford has "doubloon," "berth," "parcel of dogs and cats," and "little hay, straw, fodder, or bearskin," quite as if young Master Washington had not only written more correctly than Lord Bacon and Shakespeare, but as correctly as we do now.

Mr. Ford next gives the "Dear Friend Robin" letter; twenty-six lines of text, which again is not printed from the original, but from a copy altered from that. Pretending that it is accurately copied, Mr. Ford yet gives it to us with fifty-one variations from the original. Thus

" makes me endeavour " is read " I make one endeavor; " and although most of the other words are as in the original, the spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals are according to a corrected copy. A note to this letter gives "A curious memorandum,"— that about the making of a coat,— and in ten lines there are fifty-one variations from the original. Mr. Ford says of this memorandum that it, " judging from the hand-writing, belongs to this period." He does not tell us whether his accurate copyist concurs in this sapient judgment. The simple fact is that the memorandum occurs as one item among the others in this early little book, like a brick laid into a wall, and there is not the smallest chance to judge about it, it so manifestly goes with the other items. And this is but one slight illustration of the false pretenses made by Mr. Ford as an editor, collector, annotator, etc. He says of the " Journal," as we have seen: " This is the earliest manuscript that *I have found.*" These three last words are pure false pretense. The manuscript in question, and the other early manuscripts, were all " found " before Mr. Ford's time and labors. They repose in the library of the Department of State, and Mr. Ford has the leave to see them, which any one can have. Not only has Mr. Ford not looked up any of the material to which he thus refers, but he has not looked at it enough to reproduce it correctly. The manuscript book which he pretends to have " found," with its double character (1) a Journal of Surveys, followed by other papers, reading from the front of the book through about sixty pages, and (2) a " Journal of my Journey over the Mountains," reading from the back end of the book through twenty-four pages, Mr. Ford sees in only its second character, and copying this he puts to it, not its own title, but that belonging to the book in its other character.

These experiences in the wilderness essentially served important purposes which were to be accomplished in the future ordering of events, and in which America and humanity at large were interested.

They established his reputation as a young man of energy, diligence, ability, and integrity. He might have lingered, without reproach, among the pleasures of Mount Vernon and of Belvoir; for his society ever was the delight of his brother Lawrence, and at the hospitable mansion and in the elegant society of the Fairfaxes he would always have received a hearty welcome. But it was his manly choice faithfully to fulfil the duties of his chosen occupation as a land surveyor, although required by them to brave the dangers and endure the hardships and privations of life in the woods. None that knew him needed any further proofs of his title to their esteem and confidence.

Another important result of his forest discipline was the development of his naturally vigorous frame. He was required to ride for days together on horseback through wild regions, or to traverse them afoot, continually encountering difficulties which put to a severe test his agility and strength, and thus so exercised his physical powers that while he was yet in youth he had the aspect, the port, and the muscle of maturity.

The nature of his occupation contributed also to his ability, when casting his eye over an extensive region to form at a glance a correct estimate of distances, which to any one who was inexpert seemed marvelous. And he learned by long practice to discover in the dim disance and identify objects which no common eye could see.

In his forest experience he made yet another valuable acquisition. This was his familiar acquaintance with the habits and opinions of backwoodsmen. He met them in their rambles, took part with them in their hunting excur-

sions, camped with them in the woods, sat with them in their log cabins, partook of their coarse fare, and formed from his own observation a just estimate of their true character, so that afterward when they became soldiers of his armies he thoroughly understood the secret of commanding and directing their best energies.

And he enjoyed in his surveying expeditions and in his intercourse with borderers and red men, very favorable opportunities for gaining a knowledge of Indian life in its best and its worst phases. He heard from the lips of the backwoodsman, his spirit-stirring tales of the savage cruelties and of the cunning and the treachery which made the word Indian a signal of alarm. He ascertained also by means of his personal intercourse with these wild men, that there were combined with their worst traits some of a far less repugnant nature. A knowledge of their social habits, their opinions, their prejudices, predilections, and superstitions, their artifices in war, and the best modes of conciliating and controlling or of contending with and overpowering them, he acquired in the very regions where they made their haunts.

There was moreover an important mental influence derived from his frequenting primeval forests and moving among the sights and sounds associated with them. Such sights and sounds do not affect only the poetic and imaginative, they find a ready response in every ingenuous and susceptible mind. The very silence of the deep woods is significant, and when night shuts out all that the eye finds in them that is of interest, their solemn gloom broken only by the glare of the camp-fire or by the light of the pale moon and twinkling stars, awakens thoughts and emotions which produce a deep and durable impression on the soul. A familiarity with nature, especially in the wild grandeur of her mountain and forest scenery ever has

exerted a powerful influence upon the human mind and heart.

While making his surveys Washington was frequently led to visit Greenway Court, and he would sometimes tarry there for a few days. On these occasions he indulged with his lordship in his favorite field sports, availed himself of the rare advantages afforded by his well-selected library, and enjoyed the benefit of his edifying and instructive conversation. It appears from the young surveyor's diary and it is a significant record, that instead of light literature, he now devoted his hours for reading chiefly to Addison's Spectator and the History of England.

During occasional intermissions of severe duty, he resorted either to his loved home at his mother's, or to the delightful residence of his brother Lawrence, at Mount Vernon. His attachment to this brother was always ardent and devoted. Lawrence was not only an accomplished gentleman, possessed of those qualities which command deference, excite regard, and kindle affection, but he had the practical experience of a soldier's life; and, as an active member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he was familiarly acquainted with political affairs. From intercourse with him, his brother George continued to gather stores of valuable knowledge.

His employment as a surveyor kept him busily, usefully, and profitably occupied. And he relied upon this employment for his support, not anticipating by loans the revenues to be derived from his patrimonial inheritance.

His father had bequeathed to the eldest son, Lawrence, the estate afterward called Mount Vernon. To Augustine, the second son of his first wife, he had given the old homestead in Westmoreland county. And George, at the age of twenty-one, was to inherit the house and lands in Suffolk county. As yet however he derived no benefit

from this landed property. But his industry and diligence in his laborious occupation supplied him with abundant pecuniary means. His habits of life were simple and economical; he indulged in no gay and expensive pleasures; in early youth a good boy, he had now become an industrious young man, and he was maturing his discipline for a step yet higher.

When, in due course of time, he received his inheritance, unimpaired and unencumbered, and in addition to it the large estate of Mount Vernon, bequeathed to him by his brother Lawrence, and also of valuable lands in Berkeley county, he was intellectually and morally qualified to enter upon the duties, fulfil the obligations, and dispense the hospitalities and bounties of an opulent planter; intelligent, honorable, and every way exemplary.

[Washington did not receive the full property interest of Mount Vernon until the life interest in it of the widow of Lawrence Washington had expired. He made an arrangement for possession under which he paid to her and her second husband an annual sum sufficient to materially draw upon his resources.

Lodge says of the early developments of character in Washington and of the means by which they were brought about:

"While Washington was working his way through the learning purveyed by Mr. Williams, he was also receiving another education, of a much broader and better sort, from the men and women among whom he found himself, and with whom he made friends. Chief among them was his eldest brother, Lawrence, fourteen years his senior, who had been educated in England, had fought with Vernon at Carthagena, and had then returned to Virginia, to be to him a generous father and a loving friend. As the head of the family, Lawrence Washington had received

the lion's share of the property, including the estate at Hunting Creek, on the Potomac, which he christened Mount Vernon, after his admiral, and where he settled down and built him a goodly house. To this pleasant spot George Washington journeyed often in vacation time, and there he came to live and further pursue his studies, after leaving school in the autumn of 1747.

"Lawrence Washington had married the daughter of William Fairfax, the proprietor of Belvoir, a neighboring plantation, and the agent for the vast estates held by his family in Virginia. George Fairfax, Mrs. Washington's brother, had married a Miss Carey, and thus two large and agreeable family connections were thrown open to the young surveyor when he emerged from school. The chief figure, however, in that pleasant winter of 1747–48, so far as an influence upon the character of Washington is concerned, was the head of the family into which Lawrence Washington had married. Thomas, Lord Fairfax, then sixty years of age, had come to Virginia to live upon and look after the kingdom which he had inherited in the wilderness. He came of a noble and distinguished race. Graduating at Oxford with credit, he served in the army, dabbled in literature, had his fling in the London world, and was jilted by a beauty who preferred a duke, and gave her faithful but less titled lover an apparently incurable wound. His life having been thus early twisted and set awry, Lord Fairfax, when well past his prime, had determined finally to come to Virginia, bury himself in the forests, and look after the almost limitless possessions beyond the Blue Ridge, which he had inherited from his maternal grandfather, Lord Culpeper, of unsavory Restoration memory. It was a piece of great good fortune which threw in Washington's path this accomplished gentleman, familiar with courts and camps, disappointed, but not morose, disillu-

sioned, but still kindly and generous. From him the boy could gain that knowledge of men and manners which no school can give, and which is as important in its way as any that a teacher can impart.

"Lord Fairfax and Washington became fast friends. They hunted the fox together, and hunted him hard. They engaged in all the rough sports and perilous excitements that Virginia winter life could afford, and the boy's bold and skilful riding, his love of sports, and his fine temper, commended him to the warm and affectionate interest of the old nobleman. Other qualities, too, the experienced man of the world saw in his young companion, a high and persistent courage, robust and calm sense, and, above all, unusual force of will and character. Washington impressed profoundly everybody with whom he was brought into personal contact, a fact which is one of the most marked features of his character and career, and one which deserves study more than almost any other. Lord Fairfax was no exception to the rule. He saw in Washington not simply a promising, brave, open-hearted boy, diligent in practicing his profession, and whom he was anxious to help, but something more; something which so impressed him that he confided to this lad a task which, according to its performance, would affect both his fortune and his peace. In a word, he trusted Washington, and told him, as the spring of 1748 was opening, to go forth and survey the vast Fairfax estates beyond the Ridge, define their boundaries, and save them from future litigation. With this commission from Lord Fairfax, Washington entered on the first period of his career. He passed it on the frontier, fighting nature, the Indians, and the French. He went in a schoolboy; he came out the first soldier in the Colonies and one of the leading men of Virginia. Let us pause a moment and look at him as he stands on the

threshold of this momentous period, rightly called momentous because it was the formative period in the life of such a man.

"He had just passed his sixteenth birthday. He was tall and muscular, approaching the stature of more than six feet which he afterward attained. He was not yet filled out to manly proportions, but was rather spare, after the fashion of youth. He had a well-shaped, active figure, symmetrical except for the unusual length of the arms, indicating uncommon strength. His light brown hair was drawn back from a broad forehead, and grayish-blue eyes looked happily, and perhaps a trifle soberly, on the pleasant Virginia world about him. The face was open and manly, with a square, massive jaw, and a general expression of calmness and strength. "Fair and florid," big and strong, he was, take him for all in all, as fine a specimen of his race as could be found in the English Colonies.

"Let us look a little closer through the keen eyes of one who studied many faces to good purpose. The great painter of portraits, Gilbert Stuart, tells us of Washington that he never saw in any man such large eye-sockets, or such a breadth of nose and forehead between the eyes, and that he read there the evidence of the strongest passions possible to human nature. John Bernard, the actor, a good observer, too, saw in Washington's face, in 1797, the signs of an habitual conflict and mastery of passions, witnessed by the compressed mouth and deeply indented brow. The problem had been solved then; but in 1748, passion and will alike slumbered, and no man could tell which would prevail, or whether they would work together to great purpose or go jarring on to nothingness. He rises up to us out of the past in that early springtime a fine, handsome, athletic boy, beloved by those about him, who found him a charming companion and did not guess

that he might be a terribly dangerous foe. He rises up instinct with life and strength, a being capable, as we know, of great things, whether for good or evil, with hot blood pulsing in his veins and beating in his heart, with violent passions and relentless will still undeveloped, and no one in all that jolly, generous Virginian society even dimly dreamed what that development would be, or what it would mean to the world.

"Lord Fairfax was so much pleased by the report that he moved across the Blue Ridge, built a hunting lodge preparatory to something more splendid which never came to pass, and laid out a noble manor, to which he gave the name of Greenway Court. He also procured for Washington an appointment as a public surveyor, which conferred authority on his surveys and provided him with regular work. Thus started, Washington toiled at his profession for three years, living and working as he did on his first expedition. . . . And while he worked and earned he kept an observant eye upon the wilderness, and bought up when he could the best land for himself and his family, laying the foundations of the great landed estate of which he died possessed.

"There was also a lighter and pleasanter side to this hard-working existence, which was quite as useful and more attractive than toiling in the woods and mountains. The young surveyor passed much of his time at Greenway Court, hunting the fox and rejoicing in all field sports which held high place in that kingdom, while at the same time he profited much in graver fashion by his friendship with such a man as Lord Fairfax. There, too, he had a chance at a library, and his diaries show that he read carefully the history of England and the essays of the 'Spectator.' Neither in early days nor at any other time was he a student, for he had few opportunities, and his life from

the beginning was out of doors and among men. But the idea sometimes put forward that Washington cared nothing for reading or for books is an idle one. He read at Greenway Court and everywhere else when he had a chance, and he read well and to some purpose, studying men and events in books as he did in the world, and though he never talked of his reading, preserving silence on that as on other things concerning himself, no one ever was able to record an instance in which he showed himself ignorant of history or of literature. He was never a learned man, but so far as his own language could carry him he was an educated one. Thus while he developed the sterner qualities by hard work and a rough life, he did not bring back the coarse habits of the backwoods and the camp-fire, but was able to refine his manners and improve his mind in the excellent society and under the hospitable roof of Lord Fairfax."

Lodge's assumption that "another education" than that of his four years' schooling played a part of importance in the preparation of Washington for his career is as just as it is important; and it is correct to make great account of the brotherly tutorship of Lawrence, the fine quality and large variety of the influences represented by the elder William Fairfax and his family at Belvoir; and the weight of services rendered by Lord Fairfax; but the statement that the latter, out of special trust, commissioned him, in the spring of 1748, "to go forth and survey the vast Fairfax estates, define their boundaries, and save them from future litigation," is a deplorable example of ignorance and credulity setting the imagination at work upon an utterly baseless tradition. Lord Fairfax had already put his trust in plain "Mr. Genn, the Surveyor," as young Washington's own report calls him, with four other persons required, with the surveyor, to make a legal survey

party, and by their five signatures authentic a survey. The part played by Washington was that of going along with the surveying party, and giving such assistance as the circumstances permitted, which cannot have been much more than general oversight and some minor service, because the law required the essential running of lines and making of measurements to be done by the legally qualified surveyor's men. Washington tells how a survey, and all surveys, made for Lord Fairfax, must be reported, and the five names required to be signed do not include his own.

We know, moreover, from Washington's own account, that the surveys executed in the spring of 1748 amounted to only a laying off of special lots, only one large one in the first place reached, and only a few in each of two other places, while the most considerable work lasted only seven days and covered the survey of only a comparatively small fragment of the vast Fairfax estate. Not only was there no trust in Washington for the month's job of travel and surveying, but there was no such task contemplated as a general "survey of the vast Fairfax estates;" and if there had been there could not possibly have been any thought of giving the task to young Washington, a mere young gentleman amateur, whose work, however well done, would have had no legal value; nor could a large corps of surveyors have reported in thirty-two days, as Lodge says that Washington did, in a way to give Lord Fairfax satisfaction over an executed survey of his millions of acres of Virginia valleys and mountain wilderness.

Lodge most unfortunately appears to say that Washington went into the surveying business a schoolboy and came out the first soldier in the Colonies. This, however, is mere unlucky carelessness. He means to count the surveying years as the threshold of the first period of

about ten years, but reference to any such first period is misleading. That first period began after the surveying years, which were years of preparation far more than they were of employment, and of preparation with which the surveying work, which was the merest occasional bread and butter work, had very little to do. The statement that Lord Fairfax procured for Washington an appointment as a public surveyor, in consequence of the pleasure given him by the surveys made in March–April, 1748, by Washington is wholly an error. "Mr. Genn, the surveyor," had made the surveys, and the whole was too small and commonplace a matter to call for special recognition. It was a year and three months later that Washington got, not an appointment to the office, but a license, such as various persons held, to act as a legally qualified surveyor. As Washington was at the date of getting his license seventeen years and five months old, he did not from that date "toil at his profession for three years." Moreover, there was no "profession" in the case. Lord Fairfax himself held a license, which was no more than a permit to direct the running of lines and measuring of lands, and authenticate the record by an official signature. What Lodge himself says of how Washington passed his time, shows very plainly that he was not primarily a working surveyor, and that he did not "toil for three years, living and working as he did on his first expedition." One other such expedition he probably took part in, in the autumn of 1749, in surveying lands for the Ohio Company, and quite likely he was himself "the surveyor" in this case, and was out a longer time than one the expedition of March–April, 1748.

Lodge's attempt to throw light on Washington's character at his entrance upon his seventeenth year would have been to the purpose if he had stopped with the very just

sketch of what Washington as a youth of sixteen appeared to be; but the references to Stuart and to Bernard could not be more wide of the mark. The Bernard incident brings out most delightfully the charm and beauty of Washington's humanism, and the single touch about signs of an habitual conflict and mastery of passions was a deplorably false, as it was a scandalously venturesome, guess. All that Bernard saw, or could see, were indications of extreme sensibility, and it needed knowledge far beyond Bernard's to tell in what form that depth of feeling would come out in conduct and character. The whole career of Washington gives the lie to no matter whose charge that there were any passions in his nature calculated to lower his character or cause a moment of blameworthy conduct. Extreme outburst of feeling was no more than a rare possibility, and never then of feeling not profoundly just and perfectly natural to a noble nature. As to what Stuart read, it was as ignorant and baseless a reading as could well be made. The student who can quote Stuart to any such purpose as Lodge does loses through his eye for an anecdote Andes and Alps of evidence, attestations filling both America and Europe, to the almost divine perfection of the temper of Washington.

The assumption under which Lodge speaks of Washington in his youth as "a being capable of great things, whether for good or evil, with hot blood pulsing in his veins and beating in his heart, with violent passions and relentless will still undeveloped," while "no one even dimly dreamed what that development would be," is contrary absolutely to all that the latest science can tell us and all that the most certain history can testify. No fact of knowledge carries greater significance or bears a more sure character than the origin from birth of great genius, of remarkable powers, of all the great things, whether for

good or evil, of the human being; and no fact of the story of Washington means more for his history or rests on ampler testimony than the possession by him from his birth of the self-control, the balance of character, the large and genial humanism which were the glory of his meridian. There was no impression from his later life in what General Braddock saw in Washington on the threshold of his great career, and set down as follows, shortly before that bloody battle in which he fell:

"Is Mr. Washington among your acquaintances? If not, I recommend you to embrace the first opportunity to form his friendship. He is about twenty-three years of age; with a countenance both mild and pleasant, promising both wit and judgment. He is of comely and dignified demeanor, at the same time displays much self-reliance and decision. He strikes me as being a young man of extraordinary and exalted character, and is destined to make no inconsiderable figure in our country."

The "hot blood," "violent passions," and "relentless will" might have come through inheritance from one parent, but if they had so come they would have persisted through life; and the evidence is complete that neither the later years nor the earlier knew anything of the kind. Lodge himself says of Washington as Braddock saw him:

"He also made warm friends with the English officers, and was treated with consideration by his commander. The universal practice of all Englishmen was to behave contemptuously to the colonists, but there was something about Washington which made this impossible. They all treated him with the utmost courtesy, vaguely conscious that beneath the pleasant, quiet manner there was a strength of character and ability such as is rarely found, and that this was a man whom it was unsafe to affront. There is no stronger instance of Washington's power of

impressing himself upon others than that he commanded now the respect and affection of his general, who was the last man to be easily or favorably affected by a young provincial officer."

It is entirely without warrant, and with the worst possible discrimination, that Lodge adds to his thoroughly fine indication of the rare gentleman that Washington was seen to be, that he also appeared to be "a man whom it was unsafe to affront." Braddock and his companions could not possibly have thought that any course they chose to take might prove "unsafe," and the evidence shows beyond question that they saw only what Braddock expressed.]

CHAPTER IV.

HIS VOYAGE TO BARBADOES.

1751–1752.

THE health of Lawrence Washington awakened at this time saddening apprehensions. A deeply-seated lung affection, from which he long suffered, had induced him to take a voyage to England. This gave no relief. He then resorted, but in vain, to the Bath Springs of Virginia. And now, at the instance of his medical advisers, he proposed to sail for Barbadoes, which was deemed at that time the healthiest island in the West Indian archipelago.

He sailed September 28 (1751), accompanied by his brother George, and reached the island on the third day of November. But the experiment of a few weeks' residence proved utterly unavailing. It was determined therefore to try the delightful climate of the Bermudas (February, 1752.) George was in the mean time to repair to Virginia, and to return with Lawrence's wife, that she might join her husband in the spring.

Lawrence accordingly sailed to the Bermudas (March, 1752). Before the lapse of many days after his arrival however he wrote discouragingly: "I have now got to my last refuge, where I must receive my final sentence. If I grow worse, I shall hurry home to my grave." Soon convinced that he should no longer listen to the flattery of

hope, he did not tarry at the Bermudas for his wife and brother, but he informed them of his intention to return home without delay. This he happily accomplished. But it was only to linger for a little while, and then (July 26, 1752), at the early age of thirty-four years to be removed by death from his wife and his only child, an infant daughter.

To this daughter he bequeathed Mount Vernon. But she died at an early age, and the estate, according to provisions of the bequest in that event, descended to the favorite brother, George. Their father, Augustine Washington, had expressed a desire in his will, that should Lawrence die without issue, George might inherit this estate. Such a parental preference was calculated to throw around it a sacred interest. And it thus became forever associated with the august name of the Father of his Country. It was his happy home, his calm retreat from life's cares and trials, and his place of sepulture.

While at Barbadoes with his brother he contracted the small-pox, from which he suffered severely. He bore with him through life, some of the familiar marks usually left by that disease. But his voyage to the island, his short residence there, and his voyage home left far more pleasing reminiscences.

In the exercise, both of his habitual intelligent observation of men and things and of his characteristic diligence and industry, he kept a journal in which he entered, while at sea, a daily copy of the ship's log-book together with his own remarks; and, while on land, a brief notice of every thing that arrested his attention.

At Barbadoes he took notes of the state of civil and military affairs; of agriculture, commerce, and social life;

and many of his observations are indicative of qualities and attainments rarely to be met with in a young man of but nineteen years of age.

The following are among his records at the island:

"November 4, 1751. This morning received a card from Major Clarke, welcoming us to Barbadoes with an invitation to breakfast and dine with him. We went; myself with some reluctance as the small-pox was in the family. We were received in the most kind and friendly manner by him. Mrs. Clarke was much indisposed, insomuch that we had not the pleasure of her company. But in her place officiated Miss Roberts, her niece, and an agreeable young lady. After drinking tea we were again invited to Mr. Carter's, and were desired to make his house ours till we could provide lodgings agreeable to our wishes; which offer we accepted.

"5th. Early this morning came Dr. Hilary, an eminent physician, recommended by Major Clarke, to pass his opinion on my brother's disorder; which he did in a favorable light, giving great assurances that it was not so fixed but that a cure might be effectually made. In the cool of evening we rode out accompanied by Mr. Carter, to seek lodgings in the country as the Doctor advised; and we were perfectly enraptured with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to our view — the fields of cane, corn, fruit-trees, etc., in a delightful green. We returned without accomplishing our intentions.

"7th. Dined with Major Clarke and by him was introduced to the surveyor-general and the judges, who likewise dined there. In the evening they complaisantly accompanied us in another excursion into the country to choose lodgings. We pitched on the house of Captain Croftan,

commander of James's Fort. He was desired to come to town next day to propose terms. We returned by the way of Needham's Fort.

"8th. Came Captain Croftan with his proposals, which, though extravagantly dear, my brother was obliged to accept. Fifteen pounds a month were his terms, exclusive of liquor and washing, which we find. In the evening we removed some of our things up and went ourselves. It is very pleasantly situated near the sea and about a mile from town. The prospect is extensive by land and pleasant by sea, as we command a view of Carlyle Bay and the shipping.

"9th. Received a card from Major Clarke, inviting us to dine with him at Judge Maynard's to-morrow. He had a right to ask, being a member of a club called 'The Beefsteak and Tripe,' instituted by himself.

"10th. We were genteelly received by Judge Maynard and his lady, and agreeably entertained by the company. They have a meeting every Saturday — this being Judge Maynard's day. After dinner there was the greatest collection of fruits set on the table that I have yet seen — the granadilla, sapadilla, pomegranate, sweet orange, watermelon, forbidden fruit, apples, guavas, etc., etc. We received invitations from every gentleman there. Mr. Warren desired Major Clarke to show us the way to his house. Mr. Hacket insisted on our coming Saturday next to his, it being his day to treat with beefsteak and tripe. But above all, the invitation of Mr. Maynard was most kind and friendly. He desired and even insisted, as well as his lady, on our coming to spend some weeks with him, and promised that nothing should be wanting to render our stay agreeable. My brother promised he would accept the invitation as soon as he should be a little disengaged from the doctors.

"15th. Was treated with a ticket to see the play of 'George Barnwell' acted. The characters of Barnwell and several others were said to be well performed. There was music adapted and regularly conducted.

"17th. Was strongly attacked with the smallpox. Sent for Dr. Lanahan, whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out — which was not till Thursday, the twelfth of December.

"December 12th. Went to town and called on Major Clarke's family who had kindly visited me in my illness, and contributed all they could in sending me the necessaries which the disorder required. On Monday last began the Grand Session; and this day was brought on the trial of Colonel C., a man of opulence and of infamous character. He was brought in guiltless and saved by a single evidence, who was generally reckoned to have been suborned.

"22d. Took leave of my brother, Major Clarke, and others, and embarked on board the 'Industry' for Virginia. Weighed anchor and got out of Carlyle Bay about twelve o'clock.

"The Governor of Barbadoes seems to keep a proper state, lives very retired and at little expense, and is a gentleman of good sense. As he avoids the error of his predecessor, he gives no handle for complaint; but, at the same time, by declining much familiarity he is not over-zealously beloved.

"There are several singular risings in this island, one above another, so that scarcely any part is deprived of a beautiful prospect, both of sea and land; and what is contrary to observation in other countries, each elevation is better than the next below.

"There are many delicious fruits, but as they are particularly described by Mr. Hughes in his Natural History of the island, I shall say nothing further than that the China orange is good. The avagavo pear is generally much admired, though none pleases my taste so well as the pine.

"The earth in most parts is extremely rich and as black as our richest marsh-meadows. The common produce of the cane is from forty to seventy polls of sugar, each poll valued at twenty shillings, out of which a third is deducted for expenses. Many acres last year produced in value from one hundred and forty to one hundred and seventy pounds, as I was informed by credible authority; though that was in ginger, and a very extraordinary year for the sale of that article.

"How wonderful that such a people should be in debt, and not be able to indulge themselves in all the luxuries as well as necessaries of life! Yet so it happens. Estates are often alienated for debts. How persons, coming to estates of two, three, or four hundred acres — which are the largest — can want, is to me most wonderful. One-third of their land, or nearly that portion, is generally in train for harvest. The rest is in young cane, Guinea-corn — which greatly supports their negroes — yams, plantains, potatoes, and the like; and some part is left waste for stock. Provisions are generally very indifferent, but much better than the same quantity of pasturage would afford in Virginia. The very grass that grows among their corn is not lost, but carefully gathered for provender for their stock.

"Hospitality and a genteel behavior are shown to every gentleman stranger by the gentlemen inhabitants. Taverns they have none, except in the towns, so that travelers are obliged to go to private houses. The people are said to

live to a great age where they are not intemperate. They are however very unhappy in regard to their officers' fees, which are not paid by any law. They complain particularly of the provost-marshal or sheriff-general of the island, patented at home and rented at eight hundred pounds a year. Every other officer is exorbitant in his demands.

"There are few who may be called middling people. They are very rich or very poor; for by a law of the island, every gentleman is obliged to keep a white person for every ten acres, capable of acting in the militia, and consequently the persons so kept cannot be very poor. They are well disciplined, and appointed to their several stations so that in any alarm, every man may be at his post in less than two hours. They have large intrenchments cast up wherever it is possible to land, and as nature has greatly assisted, the island may not improperly be said to be one entire fortification."

Among the illustrations of character afforded by these minutes may be particularly noted, a lively sense of generous and kind hospitalities, a practical interest in agricultural pursuits, a soldier's observation of military works, and sagacious views of the moral and political state of society. It may be remarked also, that the journalist's usual calmness of mind is at once changed to a glow of emotion by the charms of natural scenery, so that he could indite, "We were perfectly enraptured with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to our view." And we have here, in striking contrast to this, an instance of his characteristic slight regard to personal inconvenience and discomfort, by his mentioning in brief and general terms the fact of his being assailed by a malignant and deforming contagion: "Was strongly attacked with the smallpox.

Sent for Dr. Lanahan, whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out."

In all this there are discoverable in embryo, those very qualities of sound good sense and refined emotion which ever after were prominent in him, as the gentleman, the soldier, and the planter; and especially, a concern for the welfare of others, and a reserve in what related to self, in all his public, social, and domestic occupations, and eventually, in his rural retirement at the close of his career.

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

PART II.

HIS MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

WASHINGTON A MAJOR.

1751–1754.

IT was in the year 1751 that Washington received his first military appointment. This was occasioned by preparations in Virginia to meet an emergency created by French claims to a great part of the British territories in America.

At the time when Edward III of England asserted his right to the French throne, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a spirit of implacable alienation was engendered between the two rival powers; and, fostered by their rancorous altercations and sanguinary wars, it at length reached the climax of their settled national antipathy.

Four hundred years had now elapsed. During this period America was discovered and colonies of the two nations settled on its soil. The British occupied the Atlantic coast and the mouths of rivers, and were in possession of all the harbors of the Continent. The French settlements were on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi.

Had it been the policy of both nations simply to pro-

mote the welfare of their respective colonies, the time would have been far distant when national rancor could devise the pretext for a bloody conflict. But while the policy of Great Britain was to strengthen her settlements along the seaboard, that of France was to make acquisitions of regions in the interior, and eventually to limit her rival's western progress by the natural cordon of the Alleghanies.

So unscrupulous was the ambition of France in the adoption of measures to attain her object, that, finding herself excluded from all the harbors, it was seriously proposed — and that too at a time when the rival nations were in comparative amity — to make conquest of the city of New York. It was unhesitatingly admitted that this would be a flagrant outrage of the law of nations; but, said De Callières, who recommended the measure to his countrymen, it has the sanction of necessity.* Thus the contest was in reality between social progress and territorial aggrandizement.

On three occasions between the middle of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the parent countries were in arms against each other, their respective colonists in America were tempted to engage in bloody conflict.

James II of England, driven from his throne by subjects of strongly Protestant prejudices, and supplanted by William, Prince of Orange, and his Queen, Mary, found a refuge at the court of Louis XIV of France, who not only extended to him cordial sympathy, but espoused his cause in the seven years' contest, known as "King William's War."* During this period the tragic

* Légitime par la nécessité.

deeds perpetrated by the French and Indians in America, were marked with great ferocity and cruelty. And the retaliation which these deeds provoked was, although far less abhorrent, fearfully desolating. Port Royal in Acadie was captured and twice plundered. Vigorous measures were adopted also for the conquest of all the French possessions in Canada. At length however the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) stayed for a time the malignant strife in which both parties had associated with themselves hordes of fierce, merciless savages.

The death of James II gave occasion for another rupture between France and England. The claim to the British throne inherited by James's son, James Francis Edward, Prince of Wales, was maintained by Louis XIV, who desired that Queen Anne, who was James's daughter and England's choice, should be supplanted by the Prince, commonly known as the "Pretender." Now began "Queen Anne's War" (1702), which continued for eleven years to embroil the colonists. The sanguinary scenes of the preceding war were re-enacted by the French and Indians. And the English colonists once more engaged in a successful expedition against Port Royal, which had been restored to France. But peace once more was proclaimed after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713); and now, for almost half a century, British colonists were relieved from the visitation of calamities such as once had desolated their happy homes.

But a new disagreement arrayed England and France against each other, and their colonies in America partook of the evils of another war. The powers of Europe had formally stipulated, in the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction (1744), to secure the Austrian succession to the Archduchess Marie Theresa, Queen of Hungary. George II strictly kept the pledge given by Great Britain. Louis

XIV of France disregarded it. And moreover he covertly abetted Spain in a war with England respecting certain rights of commerce; and also encouraged and assisted the young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II, in asserting his father the elder Pretender's claim to the British scepter. Hence the two great nations were involved once more in war; and their subjects in America were soon again committing hostilities which constituted what is known among us as "King George's War." The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) brought this to a close and restored to France Louisburg and the Island of Cape Breton; important acquisitions made by the British-American colonists three years before.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was however as ineffectual as all others made to arrest and quench the hereditary feuds which set at irreconcilable variance nations whose opinions, predilections, and religious doctrines and worship, as well as their habitual antipathies, conspired to make them natural enemies.

As early as the year 1715 Colonel Spottiswoode, then Governor of Virginia, urged, with great earnestness, upon the British government the absolute necessity of making vigorous resistance to the aggressive policy of France. But his representations, deemed extravagant, were then unheeded. In the year 1751 however such was the progress of the adventurous intruders that it was found advisable in Virginia to take precautionary measures of defense. The colony was, with a view to this, divided into districts, in each of which there was an adjutant-general or military inspector with the rank of major, who was to keep the militia in constant readiness for action.

One of these military districts was intrusted to Washington. He was then but nineteen years of age; yet his

early predilections had induced him to study some of the best popular treatises on the art of war. His brother Lawrence, Adjutant Muse of Westmoreland, who was a comrade of Lawrence's in the West Indies, Jacob Vanbraam, a skilful fencer, and other soldiers of experience, had already imparted to him a knowledge of tactics, of the manual exercise, and of the use of the sword; and he was recognized as a well-educated officer.

He entered with great zeal upon his duties. When Robert Dinwiddie the next year became Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, the colony was divided into four military districts. Major Washington's conduct had already won for him a good report. He was appointed for the northern division. The counties comprehended in this division he promptly and statedly traversed; and he soon effected the thorough discipline of their militia for warlike operations.

It was amid the various and peculiar duties required by this position that his characteristic qualities first had free exercise. His natural dignity commanded a ready tribute of respect; his ability was universally acknowledged with deference; and his integrity, industry, and devotion to the duties of his office exerted that magic and authoritative influence, which is accorded to an honored leader, whom, it was now manifest, a high destiny awaited. And his present military discipline proved to be the very schooling for the great exploits by which he was to be qualified to act as chief defender of the cause of the united colonies and to protect them from the terrific bolts of vengeance with which they were to be assailed. By a remarkable synchronism Dr. Franklin this very year made his memorable experiments in electricity by which he discovered that, in the ordering of Providence, means are provided to divest the thunder-

cloud of its destructive power, and to render its frowns and threats harmless.*

When Major Washington had for two years been busily occupied in his office the Lieutenant-Governor and his council were informed of new and formidable operations of the French; of their preparation to establish posts and erect fortifications on the western border; of their troops having crossed the northern lakes on the way to the Ohio, and having ascended the Mississippi from New Orleans; and of their bold and avowed purpose to adopt all necessary measures to possess themselves of the whole extent of territory from Louisiana to Canada.

The hearts of the people of the Old Dominion throbbed with an intense feeling. The Lieutenant-Governor, who had received orders from the Right Honorable Earl of Holdernesse and instructions from the King, resolved to depute at once a special commissioner to the commandant of the French on the Ohio, for the purpose of learning from him his intentions and ascertaining his authority.

It was an expedition of more than 500 miles, chiefly through an inhospitable wilderness, and among savages. The difficulty and the danger to be encountered required great caution in selecting the person to whom the commission was to be intrusted. The Lieutenant-Governor did not hesitate however to appoint Major Washington, who cheerfully consented to perform, to the best of his ability, the arduous services required. He was now but twenty-one years of age. Yet his discipline as a surveyor of wild lands and his military experience as an adjutant, eminently fitted him for this particular duty. The Gov-

* Dr. Franklin's experiments were made in June, 1752. See his Works, vol. V, p. 177. Boston, 1844.

ernor, who was a Scotchman, facetiously said on the occasion when he observed the alacrity of the young major: "Ye're a braw lad, and gin you play your cards weel, my boy, ye shall hae nae cause to rue your bargain."

His instructions to the major explain the nature of the commission, and comprehensively set forth the existing state of things:

"Whereas I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river within this territory and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign, the King of Great Britain:

"These are therefore to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown on the said river Ohio; and, having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and being there arrived, to present your credentials together with my letter to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer thereto.

"On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the Half-King, to Manacatoocha, and other the sachems of the Six Nations; acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further direction.

"You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication, and the time required for it.

"You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown; and, from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

"When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you, as far on your return as you judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character and molest you.

"Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and a safe and speedy return, I am, &c.

"ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

"WILLIAMSBURG, *30th October.*

The Governor furnished him at the same time with credentials, in which he speaks of "reposing especial trust and confidence" in his "ability, conduct, and fidelity." And he furnished also a passport, commanding all his Majesty's subjects, and requiring "all in alliance and amity with the crown of Great Britain," "to be aiding and assisting as a safeguard" to his express messenger.

Only twenty-four hours for preparation had elapsed when the "braw lad" set out on the last day of October, 1753. His attendants at first were his old fencing-master, Vanbraam, and two servants. Vanbraam, acquainted with the French language, was to be interpreter. They were afterward joined by an interpreter of Indian languages, John Davidson; by an experienced backwoodsman, Christopher Gist, as guide; and by four other persons hired as "servitors."

Major Washington's journal of his tour on this occasion, brief as it is, is a document of great and general interest. It tells, in terms pleasingly characteristic, his experience and observations in his important mission.

The subjoined extracts, while they illustrate the course of our narrative, afford specimens of his unpretending but significant daily records.

TOUR OVER THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.

"I was commissioned and appointed by the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day. The next I arrived at Fredericksburg and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, etc.; and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek, where we arrived on the 14th of November. * * *

"The excessive rains and vast quantity of snow which had fallen prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle creek, on the Monongahela river, until Thursday the twenty-second. * * *

"The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Steward* down the Monongahela with our baggage, to meet us at the Fork of the Ohio, about ten miles; there to cross the Alleghany.

* These persons were two of the four hired "servitors." Barnaby Currin was an Indian trader.

"As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water, and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Alleghany bearing northeast, and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift-running water; the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

"About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to council at Logstown.

"As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the Fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defense or advantages — especially the latter. For a fort at the Fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the Fork* might be built at much less expense than at the other places. * * *

"Shingiss attended us to the Logstown, where we arrived between sunsetting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. * * *

"As soon as I came into town, I went to Monacatoocha (as the Half-King was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver creek, about fifteen miles off), and informed him

* The spot here designated is the site of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general, and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations, to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King (which he promised to do, by a runner, in the morning), and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned. * * *

"November 25th. Came to town four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. * * *

"I inquired into the situation of the French on the Mississippi, their numbers and what forts they had built. They informed me that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about thirty or forty men and a few small pieces in each; that at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting eight carriage guns; and at the Black Islands there are several companies and a fort with six guns.

"The Black Islands are about 130 leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about 350 above New Orleans. They also acquainted me that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio at the mouth of the Obaish, about sixty leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the lakes. The deserters came up from the lower Shannoah town with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

"About 3 o'clock this evening the Half-King came to

town. * * * He told me he was received in a very stern manner by the late [French] commander.

"26th. We met in council at the long house about 9 o'clock where I spoke to them as follows:

"'Brothers.—I have called you together in council by order of your brother, the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you that I am sent with all possible dispatch to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant of very great importance to your brothers, the English, and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

"'I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the Governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

"'His Honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way and be a safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you, brothers, because his Honor, our Governor, treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said I give you this string of wampum.'

"After they had considered for some time on the above discourse the Half-King got up and spoke:

"'Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother, the Governor, had desired of me I return you this answer:

"'I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

"'Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you

will be ruled by it and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech belt is not here; I have to go for it to my hunting cabin. Likewise the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come and cannot until the third night from this; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

"'I intend to send the guard of Mingoes, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them.'

"As I had orders to make all possible dispatch and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could, and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. * * *

"30th. We set out about 9 o'clock with the Half-King, Jeskakatke, White Thunder, and the Hunter, and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived on the fourth of December, without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

"This is an old Indian town situated at the mouth of French creek, on the Ohio, and lies near north, about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

"We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command on the Ohio, but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

"The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared

in their conversation and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

"They told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it, for, that although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs.

"They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle sixty years ago; and the rise of this expedition is to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto.

"From the best intelligence I could get there have been 1,500 men on this side of Ontario lake. But upon the death of the general all were recalled to about 600 or 700, who were left to garrison four forts, 150 or thereabout in each. The first* of them is on French creek, near a small lake about sixty miles from Venango near north-northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores is kept, about fifteen miles from the other. From this it is 120 miles to the carrying-place at the Falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort at which they lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, the place from which all their stores are brought.

"The next fort lies about twenty miles from this on Ontario lake. Between this fort and Montreal there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about 600 miles, which, they say, requires no

*[This first fort, within fifteen miles of Lake Erie, was the final point of the journey; it was about 560 miles from Williamsburg. The journey to it had taken forty-one days.]

more (if good weather) than four weeks' voyage if they go in barks or large vessels so that they may cross the lake, but if they come in canoes it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore. * * *

"December 7th. Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. * * *

"At 12 o'clock we set out for the fort and were prevented arriving there until the eleventh by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through many mires and swamps. * * *

"12th. I prepared early to wait upon the commander and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business and offered my commission and letter, both of which he desired me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

"This commander is a knight of the Military Order of St. Louis and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general and arrived here about seven days before me.

"At 2 o'clock the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, etc., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it, which I did.

"13th. The chief officers retired to hold a council of war which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort and making what observations I could.

"It is situated on the south or west fork of French creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven in the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it and sharp at top with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion and one piece of four pound before the gate. In the bastions are a guardhouse, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort for the soldiers' dwellings, covered, some with bark and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, etc.

"I could get no certain account of the number of men here, but, according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. * * *

"14th. As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, * * * intending myself, to go down by water. * * *

[The return from the French station was with a canoe, plentifully stocked with provisions, liquors, and all needed supplies, through the courtesy of the French commandant.]

"I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects: He told me that the country belonged to them, that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters, and

that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio or the waters of it. * * *

"This evening I received an answer to his Honor the Governor's letter, from the commandant.

"15th. The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor and provisions to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice that he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us and prevent their going until after our departure, presents, rewards, and everything that could be suggested by him or his officers.

"I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practiced to win the Half-King to their interest. * * *

"16th. We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks, and many times were obliged, all hands, to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged and made it impassable by water; we were therefore obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the twenty-second, where we met with our horses. * * *

"23d. Our horses were now so weak and feeble and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore myself and others, except the drivers who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs to assist along with the baggage.

"I put myself in an Indian walking dress and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day, the cold increased

very fast, and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow continually freezing, therefore as I was uneasy to get back to make report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods on foot.

"Accordingly I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a matchcoat. Then with gun in hand and pack on my back in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the twenty-sixth.

"The day following just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's Town), we fell in with a party of French Indians who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me not fifteen steps off but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody and kept him until about 9 o'clock at night, then let him go and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light.

"The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to find the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft which we set about with but one poor hatchet and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work, we next got

it launched then went on board of it and set off. But before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet of water, but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts we could not get to either shore but were obliged as we were near an island to quit our raft and make to it.

"The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors who were going to the southward to war, but coming to a place on the head of the Great Kenhawa where they found seven people killed and scalped (all but one woman with very light hair), they turned about and ran back for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left they say they were French Indians of the Ottaway nation who did it.

"As we intended to take horses here and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of the Youghiogheny to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a matchcoat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

"Tuesday, the 1st of January (1754), we left Mr. Frazier's house and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the

second, where I bought a horse and saddle. The sixth, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio, and the day after some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Wills Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather.

"From the first day of December to the fifteenth there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly, and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

"On the eleventh, I got to Belvoir where I stopped one day to take necessary rest, and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the sixteenth, when I waited upon his Honor the Governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings."

Captain Gist also kept a journal of this expedition.* And some passages of it afford an interesting commentary on what Washington has more briefly recorded:

"Wednesday, 26th. The major desired me to set out on foot and leave our company as the creeks were frozen and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it we set out with our packs, like Indians, and traveled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin and the major was much fatigued. It was very cold. All

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the small runs were frozen so that we could hardly get water to drink.

"Thursday, 27th. We rose early in the morning and set out about 2 o'clock. Got to Murdering Town, on the southeast fork of Beaver creek. Here we met with an Indian whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as, how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted on traveling the nearest way to the forks of the Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the major's pack. We traveled very briskly for eight or ten miles when the major's feet grew sore and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly.

"The major desired to encamp on which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that and then the Indian grew churlish and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods and that they would scalp us if we lay out, but to go to his cabin and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow but did not care to let the major know I mistrusted him. But soon he mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said that two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles farther. Then the major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water we came to a clear meadow. It was very light and there was snow on the

ground. The Indian made a stop and turned about. The major saw him point his gun toward us and fire. Said the major, 'Are you shot?' 'No,' said I. Upon this the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak and went to loading his gun, but we were soon with him. I would have killed him but the major would not suffer me to kill him.

"We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball. Then we took care of him. The major or I always stood by the guns. We made the Indian make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the major, 'As you will not have him killed we must get him away and then we must travel all night.' Upon this I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.' He said that he knew the way to his cabin and that it was but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home, and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning, and here is a cake of bread for you and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him and listened until he was fairly out of the way. Then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass and fixed our course, and traveled all night. In the morning we were at the head of Piney creek.

"Friday, 28th. We traveled all the next day down the said creek, and just at night we found some tracks where Indians had been hunting. We parted and appointed a place, a distance off where to meet, it being then dark. We encamped and thought ourselves safe enough to sleep.

"Saturday, 29th. We set out early, got to Alleghany, made a raft and with much difficulty got over to an island a little above Shannopin's Town. The major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers being frost-bitten, and

the sun down and it being very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon the island. It was deep water between us and the shore, but the cold did us some service for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice."

Thus was this expedition accomplished through rain and snow, in mid-winter, in intensely cold weather, and amid sufferings and perils that required the constant exercise of extraordinary resolution, fortitude, and endurance.

The future chief, habited like an Indian, with his gun in his hand and his pack on his back, traversing the trackless wilderness, attended by only one companion, making his way through "many mires and swamps," fording streams, struggling for his life in the rapid current of a river, sometimes carrying his canoe, and "many times obliged to remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over shoals," camping out in the woods and fields, encompassed by hostile savages, amid hardships almost beyond the power of his iron constitution to endure, and exposed to the danger of instant death by the rifle of his treacherous Indian guide! Who can fail to recognize here the Divine Hand that preserved him amid all his sufferings and dangers, and that turned aside the deadly ball aimed at him? And who can fail to admire in his treatment of a murderous savage his noble generosity of soul.

Washington's Journal was submitted to Governor Dinwiddie. The conduct of the young major met with his Excellency's entire approval, and created also a general sentiment of admiration.

[Washington's journal of his expedition to the Ohio to challenge the right of French troops to trespass on ground claimed by England was at once printed, in Virginia and in England, and made him known to all who

took note in Europe of world movements. Sparks says here:

"To make an impression on the minds of the people, and if possible to work them up to some degree of enthusiasm, and excite their indignation against the invaders, Governor Dinwiddie caused Major Washington's journal to be published. It was copied into nearly all the newspapers of the other Colonies. In London it was reprinted, under the auspices of the government, and accounted a document of much importance, as unfolding the views of the French, and announcing the first positive proof of their hostile acts in the disputed territory."

Governor Dinwiddie was convinced by the report of his emissary that the French were preparing to appear in force on the Ohio the next spring, and that prompt measures to anticipate the French movements were necessary. He summoned the Virginia Legislature to meet at an early day, to provide for the safety of the Dominion, as Virginia was then called. He also wrote letters to the governors of the other provinces calling on them for aid, in view of the common danger. To New York and the New England Colonies he suggested the sending of troops toward Canada, for the effect that it might have to prevent the French commander there from sending reinforcements to the Ohio. The proceeding looked in the direction of union, not to say distinct confederation.

"These appeals," says Sparks, "were of little avail; the governors had received no instructions; funds for military objects were not at their disposal; and the assemblies were slow to impose taxes even for the support of their own governments. Some persons doubted the authority of the Governor of Virginia to meddle in so grave a matter; others were not convinced that the French had encroached upon the King's lands; and others regarded it as a national

concern, in which the Colonies had no right to interfere without direct orders and assistance from the King. If treaties have been violated, said they, it is not for us to avenge the insult and precipitate a war by our zeal and rashness.

"In short, the call was premature, and there was little hope of co-operation from the other Colonies. Messengers were dispatched to the southern Indians, the Catawbas and Cherokees, inviting them to join in repelling a common enemy, who had already engaged in their behalf the powerful nations of Chippewas and Ottowas. Reliance was also placed on the friendship of the Twigtwees, Delawares, and other tribes beyond the Ohio.

"When the Assembly met, a difference of opinion prevailed as to the measures that ought to be pursued; but £10,000 were finally voted for the defense of the Colony, cloaked under the title of an act "for the encouragement and protection of the settlers on the Mississippi." The Governor's equanimity was severely tried. The King's prerogative and his own dignity he thought were not treated with due respect. So obtuse were some of the burgesses that they could not perceive the justice of the King's claims to the lands in question, and they had the boldness to let their doubts be known in a full assembly. "You may well conceive," said the Governor in writing to a friend, "how I fired at this; that an English Legislature should presume to doubt the right of His Majesty to the interior parts of this continent, the back of his dominions." And, alluding to one of the members, he added, "How this French spirit could possess a person of his high distinction and sense, I know not." Another point was still more annoying to him. The Assembly appointed commissioners to superintend the appropriation of the funds. This act he took as a slight to himself, since by

virtue of his office the disposal of money for public uses ought to rest exclusively with the Governor. Such was his view of the matter, and he declared that nothing but the extreme urgency of the case should have induced him to sign the bill.

"To the Earl of Holdernesse he complained of the wayward temper and strange doings of the Assembly. "I am sorry to find them," said he, "very much in a republican way of thinking; and, indeed, they do not act in a proper constitutional way, but make encroachments on the prerogative of the crown, in which some former governors have submitted too much to them; and, I fear, without a very particular instruction, it will be difficult to bring them to order."]

By order of the Governor and council two companies of a hundred men each were raised in the northern countries and Major Washington was intrusted with the chief command of them. His journal was published by order of the Governor, was widely circulated in Virginia and other colonies, and was reprinted in England, at the instance of the British government as an unmasking of the secret and unwarrantable designs of France.

Supplied with the appropriation for "the encouragement and protection of settlers on the Mississippi, the Governor increased the number of companies to six, of fifty men each. Major Washington was spoken of as the most suitable leader of the proposed enterprise in which these companies were to be engaged, but in a manner worthy of his character, he declined the post.

In a letter to Richard Corbin, a member of the Governor's council, he says (March, 1754):

"In a conversation with you at Green Spring you gave me some room to hope for a commission above that of major, and to be ranked among the chief officers of this

expedition. The command of the whole forces is what I neither look for, expect, nor desire, for I must be impartial enough to confess it is a charge too great for my youth and inexperience to be intrusted with.

"Knowing this, I have too sincere a love for my country to undertake that which may tend to the prejudice of it. But if I could entertain hopes that you thought me worthy of the post of lieutenant-colonel, and would favor me so far as to mention it at the appointment of officers I could not but entertain a true sense of the kindness.

"I flatter myself that under a skillful commander, or man of sense — whom I most sincerely wish to serve under — with my own application and diligent study of my duty I shall be able to conduct my steps without censure and in time render myself worthy of the promotion that I shall be favored with now."

[The reply of Mr. Corbin, acknowledged by Washington from Alexandria, March 20, 1754, was: "Dear George: I enclose you your commission. God prosper you with it. Your Friend, Richard Corbin."]

The newly raised companies were placed under Col. Joshua Fry and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington.

Large grants of land on the Ohio river were promised as a bounty to the troops. The British ministry also authorized the Governor to summon two companies from New York and one from South Carolina, and North Carolina voted supplies and troops.

Lieutenant-Colonel Washington having collected at Alexandria by enlistment, two companies, set out with them on the second day of April (1754), and at Wills Creek he was joined on the twentieth by Captain Stephen with another company.

But soon intelligence of a daring outrage committed by the French was conveyed to him. They had descended

the river from Venango, with a military force said to be "upwards of a thousand men," with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty bateaux, and three hundred canoes, under command of Captain Contrecœur, and had expelled from their post a party acting under the direction of the Ohio Company.

This company, an association of Virginia and Maryland planters and London merchants, who proposed to settle lands on the Ohio, had received from the King in the year 1749 a grant of 600 acres, with the exclusive right of trade with the neighboring Indians; and had sent out a party of thirty men to build a fort at or near the Fork of the Ohio.

[This company was under the command of Captain Trent, an officer closely connected with the trader Croghan.]

Captain Trent also was occupied there in enlisting men from among the traders to form a company that should co-operate with the troops under Major Washington. But at the time when Captain Contrecœur appeared Captain Trent and his lieutenant, Frazier, were absent and Ensign Ward was in command. He had with him no more than forty-one men, including the Ohio Company's party. The rash thought of resistance he could not entertain. At the threatening as well as peremptory summons of the French captain, who allowed him but an hour for consideration, he capitulated. On the next day he proceeded with his men to the mouth of Redstone creek.

The French now seized the post thus vacated; they completed the unfinished work, and they named it, in honor of the Governor-General of Canada, "Fort Duquesne."

This flagrant act, the warrant and the signal for a decided opposition, was the commencement of hostilities which continued for seven years and which constitute what is known as the Seven Years' War (1754–1761), or the

French and Indian War, an important period in our ante-revolutionary annals.

[The imperialism which has characterized English developments throughout the world came into play for determination of the destiny of North America at the moment when young Washington was just over the threshold of active life. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed October 18, 1748, in confident hope of the peace of Europe, left open an immense possibility of contest in America for dominion throughout the vast unsettled region over which hung the star of empire beyond the Alleghanies and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. Within the limits of what England claimed as her domain, France had planted not only trading posts and block-houses, but a score of forts, and the eagles of conquest were on the wing over the forests from Canada to the Ohio. A number of London merchants and Virginia adventurers had secured, in 1749, a charter granting to them, under the name of "the Ohio Company," half a million acres of land on the Ohio, upon condition of the settlement within seven years of 100 families, the building of a fort at their own cost, and the maintenance of defense against the Indians. Thomas Lee, president of the council of Virginia, was its first manager; Augustine and Lawrence Washington, older half-brothers of George Washington, were in it, and on Mr. Lee's death the management was in the hands of Lawrence Washington. But before the company could begin operations the French, early in 1749, had begun to assert possession through a deputy of the Governor of Canada, Celeron de Bienville, at the head of 300 men. To emphasize this invasion the French fastened upon trees, and also buried in the earth, leaden plates inscribed with the claims of France to all the lands on the Ohio and its tributaries. They also gave to the Indians

presents and speeches of good-will, and warned them not to trade with the English. Traders from Pennsylvania found in the region they challenged as intruders, and sent notifications to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, that English traders would be vigorously dealt with for trespass on French domain. It was of importance to Pennsylvania to preserve friendship and trade with the Indian tribes, and early in October, 1749, Governor Hamilton sent George Croghan, an old and capable trader, to undertake to put in execution plans for a general council of all the Indian tribes at Logstown, on the Ohio, in the spring of 1750. About the same time the Ohio Company dispatched a noted pioneer and experienced woodsman, Christopher Gist, to make exploration for lands on the Ohio and its branches, to get information of value to settlers, and to deal with the Indian tribes.

Both Croghan and Gist made their way to Logstown, an Indian village a little farther down the Ohio than the site where Pittsburg now is, and the seat of a Seneca chief of great note, who was known as the Half-King, because of his subordinate relation to the great Iroquois confederacy and his headship of the mixed tribes which had "gone West" to the Ohio and its branches from the more eastern seats of Indian power and population. Croghan was at Logstown before Gist, and had gone thence into the heart of the Ohio lands, to Muskingum, and brought together there under the English flag all the agents of his extensive trade among the Indians. Gist overtook Croghan at Muskingum, and at a council of the natives held there gave them an invitation from the Governor of Virginia to visit him and receive a large present of goods sent by the great English King to his Ohio children. Visits by the two English emissaries to the Delawares and the Shawnees on the Scioto met with equal welcome,

and from thence the two went north 200 miles to the Indian town of Piqua, beyond the Miami river, the seat of the four tribes who formed the most powerful confederacy of the Great West. Here Croghan secured engagements of friendship with Pennsylvania, and Gist took pledges from the chiefs that they would attend the council at Logstown the next spring.

During the proceedings here, two Ottawas, sent from the French, appeared on the scene with two kegs of "milk" (*i. e.*, brandy) and a roll of ten pounds of tobacco; but no impression was made by these ambassadors; on the contrary they were served with notice that the tribes on the Ohio would join the great Six Nations Indian confederacy, bordering on Lake Ontario, in maintaining friendship with the English. The Ottawas, therefore, taking the "milk" and tobacco, and leaving their curses, returned whence they came.

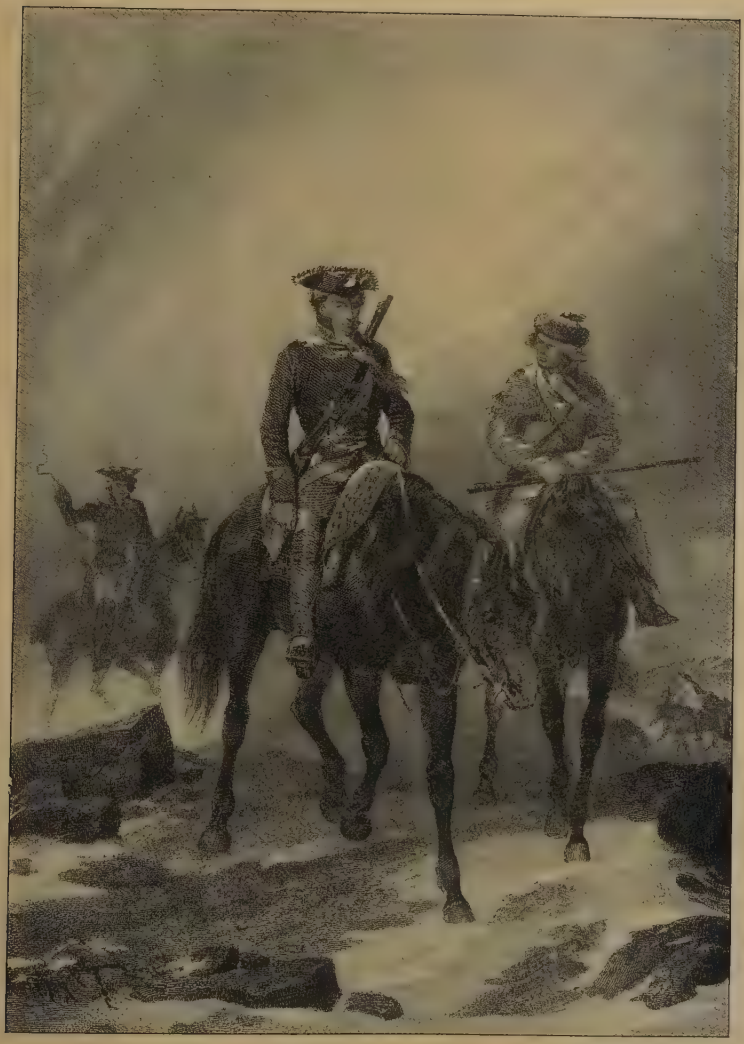
The Six Nations had represented to the English that at some former time they had conquered all the way to the Mississippi on the north of the Ohio, and on the basis of this figment of imperialism they had made over that region to the English for "milk," tobacco, and other luxuries of civilization. The dwellers in the region were not consulted, and ignorance of any conquest such as the Six Nations alleged was universal among them.

The French, on their part, alleged discovery and occupation. Father Marquette, one of the heroic characters of missionary exploration, had come to Canada in 1666; had founded a mission at the eastern end of Lake Superior; had gone the next year to the Hurons and Ottawas; upon their break-up under Sioux attack, had accompanied the Hurons to Mackinaw and established there a mission with a chapel; and, on hearing here of the great river in the West, had, in 1669, prepared to go in search of it. Pend-

ing the execution of this purpose, orders came to him to join a younger explorer, of Canadian birth, Louis Joliet, in a thorough exploration of the whole course of the unknown stream.

The two explorers, with five companions, set off in May in two canoes, their course being by way of Green Bay, Fox river, and a portage, to the Wisconsin river, and down that stream to its mouth — thus entering the Mississippi June 17, 1673. Near the mouth of the Ohio, as they went south, savages told them that a ten days' journey would bring them to the sea; and upon reaching the mouth of the Arkansas it was evident to them that the stream led to the Gulf of Mexico, and that its lower course might bring them within reach of Spanish capture. Here, therefore, having made a journey of 2,500 miles, they returned up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois, and, passing up that river, reached Green Bay in September. After detention there by sickness for a year, Marquette set out on a journey to Kaskaskia, on the river of that name in the Illinois country, five miles above its mouth and only two miles from the Mississippi,— one of the six Illinois points where the French built up settlements. Marquette's journey to this point was interrupted by his infirmities and the severe December cold, at the portage on the Chicago; and only after staying there over the winter was he able to go on at the close of March, 1675, and reach Kaskaskia in April. Erecting a chapel and celebrating Easter in it, the now infirm, worn-out explorer set out to return to Mackinaw, but having gone so far as the passage across Lake Michigan, to the mouth of a small stream, which later bore his name, his rest on a bed of leaves in the shadow of forest trees was the end, May 18, 1675.

In 1680 Father Hennepin explored the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to the Falls of St. Anthony, and



WASHINGTON ON HIS MISSION TO THE OHIO.

in 1682, La Salle, who had come to Canada as an adventurer in 1666, made a journey covering the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle had in August, 1679, sailed with De Tonti, a veteran Italian, through the chain of lakes to Green Bay, in the northwestern part of Lake Michigan; and had gone thence to the mouth of the St. Joseph river, at the southeastern part of the lake, and established there a trading post, which he called Fort Miami. From this point he went up the St. Joseph, crossed over to the Kankakee, paddled down that stream until he reached an Illinois Indian village, and attempted the establishment of a trading post, in January, 1680, on the site of the present Peoria, to which he gave the name Fort Crèvecœur. After putting De Tonti in charge of the fort, and having dispatched Hennepin to explore the Illinois and the Mississippi northward, La Salle started back for Canada, crossed Michigan from the mouth of the St. Joseph to a stream flowing into the Detroit, and, passing thence overland to Lake Erie, navigated that lake to Niagara in a canoe, and organized a party of twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen New England Indians for a journey with supplies to Fort Crèvecœur.

An attack by the Iroquois on the Illinois settlement had compelled De Tonti to abandon the fort and return to Green Bay. La Salle conducted his party by way of Fort Miami, at the mouth of the St. Joseph, along the southern coast of Lake Michigan, through the Chicago river and across the Illinois, and thence down that stream to the Mississippi. Descending the Mississippi to its separation into three channels, La Salle explored these to the Gulf of Mexico, De Tonti conducting the exploration of the great middle channel. At a suitable spot near the Gulf, a cross and a column were set up with the inscription,

"Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, April 9, 1682," and La Salle proclaimed the whole valley of the Mississippi and the region of its tributaries as a part of the dominion of France, with the name Louisiana.

The next year La Salle ascended the Mississippi, returned to Quebec in November, went to France, and proposed to the King's government that a settlement be made on the lower Mississippi and that steps be taken to secure to France the rich mining country in northern Mexico. A patent was granted, making La Salle commandant of the region from the present State of Illinois to Mexico and westward indefinitely. Four ships, with Beaujeu as navigator, sailed August 1, 1684, with a company of 280 persons, but through the miscalculations of Beaujeu and his stupid insistence on his own views against La Salle's better knowledge, the fleet got as far beyond the mouth of the Mississippi as the entrance to Matagorda Bay, and with the wreck there of the storeship on which most of the supplies were, the debarkation of the colonists, of whom not a few were characters more fit for a prison than a plantation, was followed by Beaujeu's desertion, leaving only a small ship. The efforts of La Salle to begin agriculture and trade, after the erection of a fort, were defeated by the hostility of the Indians, and with what settlers were killed, and many perishing by disease, less than forty souls were left at the end of the first year. Half of these, including women and children, La Salle left at the beginning of 1688, while, with his brother, two nephews, and thirteen others, he set off to make his way through what is now Texas to the Illinois. A revolt, however, breaking out very soon, two of the ringleaders stealthily murdered one of the explorer's nephews, and when La Salle turned back to look for him he also was treacherously killed, March 20, 1688. The remnant of the col-

ony were either massacred by the Indians or made prisoners by Spaniards sent to drive out the French.

The successor to La Salle in French occupation was Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Bienville, a brother of Le Moyne Iberville, who founded a French settlement at Biloxi, near the mouth of the Mississippi, in 1698. Sauville, another brother, was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1699, and the next year Bienville constructed a fort fifty-four miles above the mouth of the river. The death of Sauville in 1701 left Bienville in charge of the colony, and he settled the seat of government at Mobile, and soon after was joined by his brother Chateaugay, with seventeen settlers from France. A further instalment of settlers arrived a little later, a score of young women as wives for colonists. Bienville was superseded as Governor by Cadillac in 1713, and the latter by Epinay in 1717. The next year Bienville founded New Orleans, and upon war breaking out between France and Spain he seized Pensacola and put his brother Chateaugay in command there. From 1724 to 1733 Bienville was in France, and then for ten years he was again Governor of Louisiana.

At the date of the treaty of Utrecht (1713), which secured an enlargement of the conceded colonial claims of England (against the French) in America, there were not over 500 Europeans in the whole region from the Illinois to the Gulf. Immediately after the treaty the King of France granted proprietary rights in all the territories watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries below the mouth of the Illinois to Antoine Crozat, and it was Crozat who sent out Cadillac as Governor. Matters went badly, and Crozat got rid of his interest to the celebrated speculative financier, John Law, who worked the disastrous Mississippi scheme with Bienville (as stated above) as Governor. After the founding of New Orleans, in 1718,

seven vessels came the same year with stores and about 1,500 emigrants; and the next year eleven vessels, including an importation of 500 negroes from the Guinea coast. In 1721 the arrivals were 1,000 white settlers and 1,367 slaves. This was in the year following the bursting of Law's financial bubble, but the misfortunes incident to that failed to check the prosperity of the colony.

In 1732 the grant came to an end, and the province reverted to the crown. There were at that time not less than 4,000 white colonists and 2,000 slaves. By a secret treaty in 1762, made public a year and a half later, and its provisions carried into effect in 1769, France transferred Louisiana to Spain. Meanwhile, by a treaty made in February, 1763, Louisiana east of the Mississippi, from the sources of that river to the sea, was ceded to Great Britain, the line, however, to the sea passing along the middle of the Iberville river through the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, thus leaving out all of what is now Louisiana except the very small part east of the Mississippi and north of the Iberville and lakes line. This was after the war of seven years' duration which we see Washington at the beginning of in 1754, and which closed with the French surrender of Montreal and of all Canada, September 8, 1760. It seems pretty evident that France had, before 1754, carried on exploration and settlement, from the lakes through the Illinois river prairies and down to the mouth of the Mississippi, which would have warranted insisting that English claims beyond the Alleghanies leave her what is now Michigan and Illinois, and the line of the Mississippi to the Gulf; and had French operations kept those limits there would have gone on peaceful developments carrying French-Canadian power from the east end of Lake Erie across the Michigan and Illinois lands, and down to the Gulf without the slightest occasion for con-

flict with England on the Ohio. But when France, carrying a purely nominal claim up stream along a tributary of the reach and territorial sweep of the Ohio, without action of any sort in pursuance of her claim, made the natural course of English advance of colonial occupation westward an occasion for purely military descent from Canada, with no pretense of colonization purposes, but, on the contrary, with attempts to rouse the savages against English colonization, there was a face of impudence and wickedness in it, the smashing of which, begun by Washington and finished seven years later at Montreal, was richly deserved. The claim of France across Michigan and Illinois, and on the immediate banks of the Mississippi to its mouth, may have been of the best in every respect, and its maintenance might have resulted in a French America carried to the Pacific, with English extension nowhere reaching to the Mississippi, yet the rascal outrage of appearing in arms on the upper Ohio, against English colonization begun by the Ohio Company, and with "milk" and tobacco to buy Indian massacre service, was not only criminal to the last degree, but a blunder of the worst sort. French mission, exploration, and colonization plans may stand forever to her credit, and pursued on lines of justice and wisdom they might have made North America predominantly French, but French military attack upon English colonization, and appeal to the murdering savages to help carry on a war of desolation, can only come to judgment as of that madness sent by the gods upon those whose steps take hold on destruction.

If now we turn to England's historic claim, in contrast with that of France, it is not writing history to take any notice of so slight and so recent a matter as some trumpery dealing with the Indians south of Ontario, or with any

such aboriginal occupiers, never more than human vermin infesting lands which they not only could not in any respectable sense occupy, but which they made the stamping ground of filthy carousal and fearful massacre nearer the level of incarnate devils than of creatures fit to be dealt with as human. The history with which we are concerned is that of Washington as a scion of England, and of England making armed contest for continental sway; and the necessary background lies in that past to which Washington and Virginia, Washington and England in America, were the sequel. The hero of our narrative is on the way to become, on the top of the world, the greatest figure of the English race, and to note the lines which meet in him we must look back to the times, the scenes, and the historical figures. which made Washington and his career possible.

The Fourth of July, which we celebrate as Independence Day, ought to be no less celebrated as Discovery Day for America. It is the anniversary of the discovery which resulted in an English North America.

John Cabot, of Genoa by birth, and later of Venice, had become an Englishman by residence in the last half of the fifteenth century, at Bristol, on the Avon, near the head of Bristol Channel — the great southwestern seagate to England.

It was in 1496, on the 5th of March, that Henry VII of England, in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to John Cabot and his sons a patent empowering them to seek out, subdue, and occupy, at their own charges, any regions which before had "been unknown to all Christians." And under this patent the Cabots sailed, on the 2d of May of the next year, 1497, to attempt discovery in the far west of the North Atlantic. A record not long since brought

to light at Bristol, made this reference to the voyage of the Cabots across the North Atlantic:

"This year, 1497, on St. John the Baptist's Day (June 24, old style, now July 4), the land of America was found by the merchants of Bristowe (Bristol; Brigstow or Bridgeplace, Bristow) in a ship of Bristol called the Matthew, the which said ship departed from the port of Bristowe the 2d of May and came home again 6th August following."

A royal privy purse record of August 10, 1497,—"To him that found the New Isle, £10,"—appears to show, when taken in connection with other records, that the head of the expedition, John Cabot, was awarded £10, on his return from discovering some island like Newfoundland. The terms of a second patent show that the mainland as well as the island had been discovered. This second patent, dated February 3, 1498, authorized John Cabot to take six English ships, "and them convey and lede to the Land and Isles of late found by the said John in oure name and by oure commandment."

Exactly what the discovery thus referred to was we may see from an early notice, which said:

"In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian, discovered that country which no one before his time had ventured to approach, on the 24th of June, about 5 o'clock in the morning. He called the land *Terra primum visa*, because, as I conjecture, this was the place that first met his eye in looking from the sea. On the contrary, the island which lies opposite the land he called the island of St. John,—as I suppose because it was discovered on the festival of St. John the Baptist."

The common tradition has been that a second expedition set sail from Bristol in May, 1498, and after searching the coast of the new land far to the north turned about and followed the coast south for some 1,800 miles, or down

past the New England of a future day to what we know as Virginia; and that thus a large discovery of continental land to the west of the North Atlantic was made by Cabot on his two voyages. Both of these voyages had been made before Columbus had anywhere discovered any part of the continental mainland. To a date as late as August, 1498, Columbus had not found any land except islands. And when, August 1, 1498, he saw land, near the mouths of the Orinoco river in South America, he raised the question whether it was a continental mainland and a new world, and very confidently decided that it was not. At a later date he again saw a point of the coast of the continent, and he took this also to be the coast of an island; and at his death he was entirely unconscious that he had seen anything but the islands which he so falsely claimed to be "the Isles of India beyond the Ganges," and upon which he fixed the wholly false name of "West Indies."

The questions of history which arise in this connection are conclusively dealt with in an admirable study recently published by Henry Harrisse, an elegant volume of 500 pages, the title of which we give below.* The volume is notable, not only for the justice of recognition which it gives to John Cabot as alone the discoverer of North America, but for the justice of exposure of the free-and-easy mendacity of the son, Sebastian, in pretending to have been himself the author of what was accomplished entirely without him by his father. Harrisse's own summary of the situation, as he finds it through researches that leave nothing to be desired, is as follows:

"In the year 1497 a Venetian citizen, called Giovanni

* "John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his Son. A chapter of the Maritime History of England under the Tudors, 1496–1557." By Henry Harrisse. London: Benjamin Franklin Stevens. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $7.50.

Caboto, having obtained letters-patent from Henry VII the year previous for a voyage of discovery, crossed the Atlantic ocean, and, under the British flag, discovered the continent of North America.

"In 1498, he fitted out, in Bristol, a new expedition, and again sailed westward; but scarcely anything further is known of that enterprise."

Who was John Cabot? He is commonly said to have been a Venetian settled at Bristol in England; and his son Sebastian is often said to have been an Englishman by virtue of birth in England. Harrisse shows conclusively that John Cabot was, like Columbus, a Genoese; that he was naturalized in Venice under a provision permitting this to one who had been a resident in Venice for fifteen years; and that Sebastian was born, not in England, but in Venice. Harrisse further expresses his belief that John Cabot removed with his entire family to England in 1490; that Sebastian, when he first came to England, was a lad of about sixteen; and that when the elder Cabot undertook his memorable voyage of 1497, he was forty-six years of age, and his son, Sebastian (left at home), was about twenty-three. Harrisse thinks it not unlikely that the Cabots came from Venice to London.

Bristol was known to Columbus in 1477 as a port from which bold expeditions were sent forth on the Atlantic to the north and west. To all appearance, as the facts are given by Harrisse, John Cabot's ideas may have antedated the first voyage of Columbus. It was as early as 1474, when John Cabot was still a resident of Venice, that Toscanelli, upon whose suggestions Columbus acted, was advocating the project of reaching Asia by sailing constantly westward. Evidence exists that Toscanelli's notions with regard to lands across the Atlantic were pretty well current in Italy, and as likely to have been known to Cabot

as to Columbus. The statement commonly made that John Cabot conceived the notion of a voyage of discovery upon hearing of the success of the first voyage of Columbus, is a statement of Sebastian, intrinsically more likely to be false than to be true. A trustworthy testimony is to the effect that John Cabot related, in speaking of his first voyage across the Atlantic, that when he was at Mecca, in Arabia, he inquired from the caravans which brought spice to Europe whence the article came, and that in consequence of his belief in the sphericity of the earth, he inferred from their reply that it came from a land which lay to the west, and that the project of his voyage was based on the expectation of finding a shorter route to Cathay, by sailing west. Harrisse quotes a dispatch from London of July 25, 1498, by Pedro de Ayala, which said: "For the last seven years Bristol people have sent out every year two, three, or four caravels in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese." That the Genoese referred to was not Columbus, and must have been John Cabot, is shown by another part of the dispatch, in which Ayala said: "I have seen the map which was made by the discoverer, who is another Genoese like Columbus." When Ayala wrote this dispatch nearly a year had elapsed from John Cabot's return from his voyage of discovery, and manifestly the reference was to him. Harrisse remarks in view of this reference to what the people of Bristol had been engaged in through the suggestion of John Cabot:

"Efforts of the kind were not unfrequent in those days. We have cited in another work authentic documents referring to eighteen similar enterprises, projected or attempted, between the years 1431 and 1492; that is, anterior to the memorable voyage of Columbus. Ayala refers to attempts of this kind annually renewed, and of

which the expedition sent out from Bristol by John Jay, Jr., in July, 1480, under the command of Thomas Lloyd, gives us a pretty clear idea. John Cabot doubtless advised, and may even have laid out plans for such voyages of discovery between 1490, which we suppose to be the date of his first coming to England to settle, and the close of 1495, when he submitted his plans to Henry VII. Belief in the existence of the island of Brazil and of a great island called Antilla, or the Seven Cities, had existed before the time of Columbus, and had led to voyages westward from Ireland earlier than the time of the Cabots."

It is more than probable, therefore, that the only service rendered to English exploration by the report of islands reached by Columbus was that of making it easier to secure the ear of the English monarch.

When Henry VII granted the petition of John Cabot, who probably inserted the names of his sons with a view to their inheritance of the interest and to any future prosecution of it which might be made by them, they were authorized, "upon their own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathens or infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."

Although authorized so early as March 5, 1496, the expedition did not sail until May of 1497, about the middle of the month, Harrisse thinks, and consisted of but "one small ship, manned by eighteen men."

We hear nothing of any terrors of the unknown Atlantic preventing the bold venture of a voyage with so small a craft and a crew so few in number. For more than 500 years the path of the sea from Ireland west to whatever might be beyond had been more or less open, and the

expedition under John Cabot, small as it was, was no more than average English courage was equal to. Cabot, proceeding to the west coast of Ireland, sailed toward the north and then west, until a mainland was reached, where the country was fine and temperate; where the sea along the shore was filled with fishes; where the inhabitants used snares to catch game and needles for making nets; where the tides were slack and did not rise as in England; and returning from which were seen two very large and fertile islands. To Harrisse these points of description imply Labrador inhabited by the Eskimo, in perhaps the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh; and further Harrisse says, referring to what John Cabot reported:

"It is evident that the Venetian adventurer and his companions were greatly struck with the enormous quantity of fish which they found in that region. It surpassed anything of the kind they had ever seen, even in the Icelandic sea, where cod was then marvelously plentiful. He dwells at length and with evident complacency on that fortunate peculiarity,—'that sea is covered with fishes, which are taken not only with the net, but also with a basket, in which a stone is put so that the basket may plunge into water. They say that they will bring thence such a quantity of fish that England will have no further need of Iceland, from which a very great commerce of fish called stockfish is brought.' It is clear that the existence of vast quantities of cod is a circumstance which is applicable to the entire transatlantic coast north of New England. Yet, however plentiful that species of fish may be on the banks of Newfoundland, the quantity is surpassed near the entrance of Hudson's strait. Modern explorers report that there cod and salmon 'form in many places a living mass, a vast ocean of living slime, which accumulates on the banks of northern Labrador;' and the

spot noted for its 'amazing quantity of fish' is the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh, which the above details and other reasons seem to indicate as the place visited by John Cabot in 1497."

The mention of the enormous amount, the immense mass of codfish in the sea, is of very special significance. This feature of the North Atlantic, clear across from the north of Scotland to Labrador, may be said to have determined the progress of sailing west, first far out into the Atlantic, then to Iceland, then from Iceland to Greenland, and thence to Labrador. For hundreds of years before Columbus the cod in the sea had paved the way from the west coast of Ireland to the codfish coast of America. They tempted and trained the hardy fishermen to bold voyaging, until the bold voyaging, by chance of the storms and stress of weather, carried involuntary explorers as far as Iceland.

A very interesting paper was recently presented to the Viking Club of London setting forth facts going to show that the original ancient "Thule" was Iceland; that the name was given by Celtic settlers from the British Isles; and that the meaning of the name was "Isle of the Sun," or island where the sun does not go down. When the Scandinavians first discovered Iceland, about A. D. 850, it had been colonized long before, to some small extent at least, by Irish monks, who, observing how the sun remained above the horizon, even at midnight, naturally gave it a name which meant Sun-Land. At least 700 years before Columbus, adventurers by sea from the coast of Ireland, to whom fishing for cod had made familiar the perils of the deep, were accustomed to strike boldly out into the Atlantic with small regard to what might be before them, and whether making long voyages deliberately or being driven far away in spite of themselves, they

ultimately made the distance from Great Britain to Iceland and later that from Iceland to Greenland, not to speak of the further step from Greenland to Labrador. The distance from the north of Scotland to Iceland is 500 miles; that from Norway to Iceland is 600 miles. The greatest length of Iceland from east to west is 300 miles, and from the west coast of Iceland to Greenland is 250 miles. Greenland is continental in extent, but it comes to a point in the south, and this point about breaks in the middle the sea passage from Iceland to Labrador. Through the entire sea from Norway to Labrador the cod have been a bridge from the old world to the new.

Beyond a doubt the codfish made the destiny of North America. The day of discovery, in which both the United States and British America are alike interested, ought to be celebrated within all the metes and bounds of the continent, from the Arctic coasts to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a festival of codfish. The cod in the sea were the stepping-stones by which Irish adventure and English enterprise made the transatlantic passage to the possession of the northern continent of the new world.

That Cabot was back in England early in August is proven by the fact of an official record of August 10, 1497, showing that Henry VII gave £10 as a reward "to hym that founde the new isle." What John Cabot actually found, however, is more accurately mentioned in the new letters-patent given him by Henry VII February 3, 1498, and authorizing him "to take at his pleasure VI Englisshe shippes and them convey and lede to the Londe and Isles of late founde by the seid John."

For his second expedition Cabot had no difficulty in finding men to accompany him. An Italian, writing home from England at the time, said: "He can enlist as many

Englishmen as he pleases and many of our own rascals besides." Harrisse says: "There is no ground whatever for the assertion, frequently repeated, that John Cabot did not command this second expedition, or that it was undertaken after his death by his son. The name of Sebastian Cabot, who was not one of the grantees in these new letters-patent, appears for the first time, in connection with these voyages, in Peter Martyr's account, printed twenty years after the event, and taken exclusively from Sebastian's own lips, which, as we have shown, is not a recommendation."

The second expedition sailed early in the spring of 1498, and at the end of July following the first news relative to its progress was received in England. Harrisse thinks that the fleet sailed later than April 1, 1498, because of a record which shows that the King loaned £30 on that day to two persons who were "going to the New Isle." The only direct news concerning the expedition after it left Bristol is a statement by Pedro de Ayala in a dispatch of July 25, 1498, that "News has been received of the fleet of five ships." We do not know when the fleet returned to England, nor do we know where the fleet went, nor what discoveries it made, nor whether John Cabot survived the expedition. Our only information bearing upon the matter is that one of the men who borrowed money of the King for "going to the New Isle" repaid the loan in London, June 6, 1501.

As to the regions visited by John Cabot in the course of his second voyage of discovery, we can only form an opinion by inference from what appears to have been known a little later, as in the year 1501, and which cannot have been known except through John Cabot's discoveries. A celebrated map, that of Juan de la Cosa, made in 1500, indicates points discovered by the English. Harrisse in-

fers that the northernmost represent those noted by Cabot during his first voyage, and that those further south necessarily indicate the discoveries of the expedition of 1498. In this view, Cabot must have reached a vicinity south of the Carolinas. Harrisse constructs a map of the second voyage of John Cabot, which indicates that he sailed south from Newfoundland past Nova Scotia and the whole Atlantic coast to Florida, and thence took his course back to Bristol.

A point of great interest in the story of John Cabot's discovery of North America is the question of the month and the day of the original discovery in 1497. The only report which we have makes it to have been in June and on the 24th day of the month, which, allowing for the difference between the old style and the new style, would be on our July 4th. Unfortunately the report comes indirectly from Sebastian Cabot, with more than an indication of its doubtful character. Harrisse discusses the facts and comes to the conclusion that the date June 24th was invented in consequence of finding the name of St. John existing on maps of that region, and that the story was told that the name was given because the spot was discovered on St. John's Day, June 24th; but of this we cannot have an approach to positive knowledge, and one may hesitate, if he chooses, to give up the date. It seems to have been a possible date, if we suppose that on the first voyage only a very limited portion of the coast was visited, and in the entire absence of decisive evidence it seems not unreasonable to continue the use of the date and to let July 4th serve as the anniversary of Cabot's original discovery.

It is customary to assume that the voyages of Cabot were a result of the voyage of Columbus; that he broke the ice and showed the way; that he, first in time and

greatest in genius and courage, set forth into the immense unknown seas, and gave the impulse by which all others sailed; and that to him, because of a supremely great initiation, belongs the comprehensive honor of all the discoveries by which a new world was added to the old. So rampant everywhere has been this view that even our best historical accounts are marred by it, and not even our best authorities get the facts in a right light.

It is a grotesquely false representation on which all the honoring of Columbus and of Spain has proceeded, to the neglect of other and far higher claims. It is not so much the Norse claims, going back to about 1000 A. D., when the whole seaway by Iceland and Greenland to whatever lay beyond was familiar to many adventurous keels. It is far more the claims which the viking-ship development of a later time, in England and in half-English Portugal, presents; when adventure free and fearless stood not upon royal subsidies and patents of dominion, and had no desire to plead the darkness and dread disasters of the seas in apology for blasted expectations. There had been 500 years of dauntless breasting of all seas and plunging into unknown deeps, by Saxon, or Celtic, or Norse adventurers before Columbus mustered a trembling courage to run before a favoring wind across the Atlantic.

The fact is that ignorance and imagination have far too much shaped the popular representation of Columbus. The place of the Genoese sailor in the great age of discovery has been grossly exaggerated. He is in reality the fourth, and the least worthy, of the four heroes of discovery by whose lives a new world was added to the old world. Before him and above him were Vespucius, Cabot, and Prince Henry of Portugal, known for immortal honor as Prince Henry the Navigator.

In one of our best historical handbooks the index has

this correct word—"Columbus discovered the West Indies"—and the text says of the general facts:

"Portugal at the end of the fourteenth century (or about 1400 A. D.; it was in fact from about 1418 or 1420, seventy years before Columbus) had led the way in maritime adventure, and Portuguese navigators discovered a way to India round the Cape of Good Hope [after attempts covering the whole period 1433–1498]. Spain was anxious to do as much, and in 1492 Columbus had discovered the West Indies."

The Portuguese navigators, trained and sent forth by Prince Henry, had succeeded, through more than half a century of daring endeavor (1433–1486), in sailing down the entire west coast of Africa and around the stormy cape at its southern extremity, six years before Columbus carried out his utterly baseless scheme for getting to India by sailing west on the South Atlantic; and they actually reached India, at Calicut on its southwest coast, ten days before Columbus set sail on his third voyage, in which he first saw the continental mainland, but did not explore it or even discover what it was, his opinion being that it was not a new continent or a new world.

The true course of events in the century of discovery, and the true place of persons in it, may be seen from these Britannica passages; which correctly refer the great start made all over the world, not to Columbus and Spain, but to Portugal and the great Portuguese initiator, far behind whom came the Genoese sailor:

"In the fifteenth century the time was approaching when the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was almost indefinitely to widen the scope of geographical enterprise. The great event was preceded by the construction of the mariner's compass. Encouraged by the possession of this sure guide, by which, at all times and in all places, he

could with certainty steer his course, the navigator gradually abandoned the method of sailing along the shore, and boldly committed his bark to the open sea. Navigation was then destined to make rapid progress. The growing spirit of enterprise, combined with the increasing light of science, prepared the states of Europe for entering upon that great career of discovery, of which the details constitute the materials for the history of modern geography.

"Portugal took the lead in this new and brilliant path, and foremost in the front rank of the worthies of this little hero-nation stands the figure of Prince Henry the Navigator. Until his day the pathways of the human race had been the mountain, the river, and the plain, the strait, the lake, and the inland sea. It was he who first conceived the thought of opening a road through the unexplored ocean,—a road replete with danger but abundant with promise. Prince Henry, born March 4, 1394, relinquished the pleasures of the court, and took up his abode on the inhospitable promontory of Sagres, at the extreme south-western angle of Europe. To find the seapath to the '*thesauris Arabum et divitiis Indiæ*' was the object to which he devoted his life. He collected the information supplied by ancient geographers, unweariedly devoted himself to the study of navigation and cartography, and invited, with princely liberality of reward, the co-operation of the boldest and most skilful navigators of every country."

The sweep of Prince Henry's early work to the west reached a thousand miles into the Atlantic and made the Azores and the Madeira islands integral parts of Portugal. To the south, down the coast of Africa, to and beyond the Canaries, progress was very slow, but the efforts of Henry not less persistent and hopeful. The Mohammedan religion had propagated cowardly terror of the sea, and had

impressed this on the ignorance and superstition of Christendom. To Prince Henry this paralyzing cowardice was despicable, and in 1433 one of his captains, an Englishman named Giles Jones, or Gil Eannes, carried his ship past Cape Bojador on the African coast, where the dangers had been supposed to be too great for mortal hazard.

The advance southward was now unsparingly pressed, and by 1446 more than fifty caravels had reached the Guinea coast. Prince Henry died in 1460, but his great work did not die with him; and in a marvelous voyage, lasting from August, 1486, to December, 1487, Bartholomew Dias, sailing 13,000 miles with two little fifty-ton craft, went storm-driven far beyond the south end of Africa, and thence back to its east coast, and home again by rounding the cape, named by him Tormentoso.

This cape of storms, where, on a later voyage, the same Dias went down with his ship, was called by the King of Portugal the Cape of Good Hope, because of the expectation now so strong of reaching India by that way, as Prince Henry had planned to do. It was because of wise plans and confident, just expectations, so long patiently pursued, that Portugal let Columbus turn to Spain with his crazy dream of reaching India by sailing west.

India was reached by the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, in a voyage lasting from July, 1497, to May, 1498. When Da Gama got back to Lisbon in August, 1499, another expedition was sent, a fleet of thirteen ships, commanded by Pedro Alvarez Cabral. It sailed March 9th in the year 1500, and through stress of Atlantic storms was carried to the coast of the great southern continent, across the Atlantic from Africa; and on the 22d of April, 1500 A. D., or May 1st by new style, its commander Cabral, took possession for Portugal of the great continental mainland which we know as Brazil.

It was a discovery which belonged in the course of events set in motion by Prince Henry eighty years before. It would have been made exactly the same if Columbus had never sailed. It gave the first news to Europe of continental regions discovered where Columbus had found and had reported only islands.

Cabral sent the great news back to Portugal, and then turned his prows toward the Cape of Good Hope to make his voyage to India. The fleet met at sea an expedition which had on board Amerigo Vespucius, and which followed up Cabral's discovery with prolonged coastwise exploration of the new continent. Vespucius got from Cabral news of the finding of a continent, and, after amply verifying it by prolonged explorations, he made a report, in which he told how a "new world" had been discovered; just what Columbus might have done fully two years earlier if he had not been too stupid to see and follow up the real facts. The inevitable result followed. Vespucius was the reporter of news of a new world, and because he got a scoop on Columbus, as newspaper men say, he was justly honored, by those who printed the news, with having the new world called Amerige, or America.

It was thus in the line of Prince Henry, and not in the line of Columbus, that there came into view a new world. Prince Henry was the supreme hero of the age of discovery. The mother of the prince was Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of that Duke of Lancaster, son to Edward III of England, who was at one time the patron of John Wyclif. The prince was thus half an Englishman. He was one of the finest minds and fairest characters of his time. At the age of twenty-one he had won European fame as a soldier, and when he began at twenty-two his matchless devotion to science as a means of human progress he was a figure, as a young man, hardly paralleled in

history. The Britannica article devoted to him (Vol. XI, 672), says:

"Henry Prince of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, to whose enlightened foresight and perseverance the human race is indebted for the maritime discovery, within one century, of more than half of the globe, was born at Oporto on the 4th of March, 1394. Prince Henry and his elder brothers, Duarte and Pedro, were sent out in 1415 on an expedition against the important Moorish city of Ceuta, which, after much hard fighting, they succeeded in taking one day. Prince Henry pre-eminently distinguished himself at the siege. His renown after this became so high that he was invited severally by the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of Castile and England, to take the command of their respective armies. The Prince, however, had set his mind on other and larger plans, involving no less than the hope of reaching India by the south point of Africa. Accordingly, in 1418–19, he took up his abode on the extreme southwestern point of Europe, with the purpose of devoting himself to study, and to the direction and encouragement of the expeditions which he proposed to send forth. There he erected an observatory, and at great expense procured the services of a man very skilful in the art of navigation and in the making of maps and instruments, to instruct the Portuguese officers in those sciences.

"At first his efforts seemed to be crowned with little success, and his various expeditions called down upon him much obloquy from the nobles, who complained of such an amount of useless expenditure; but on the Prince vituperation fell harmless.

"The glory attaching to the name of Prince Henry does not rest merely on the achievements effected during his own lifetime, but on the stupendous subsequent results

in maritime discovery to which his genius and perseverance had lent the primary inspiration. The marvelous results effected within a century from the rounding of Cape Bojador in 1433 [nearly sixty years before Columbus], formed one unbroken chain of discovery, which originated in the genius and the efforts of one man. They were the stupendous issue of a great thought and of indomitable perseverance, in spite of twelve years [1420–1432] of costly failure and disheartening ridicule. Had that failure and that ridicule produced on Prince Henry the effect which they ordinarily produce on other men, it is impossible to say what delays would have occurred before these mighty events would have been realized; for it must be borne in mind that the ardor, not only of his own soldiers, but of surrounding nations, owed its impulse to this pertinacity of purpose in him."

Such is the testimony going to show that the age of discovery not only dates from Prince Henry long before Columbus, but was created by him, and was in full course to the true discovery in the southern quarter of a new world when Columbus came upon the scene with claims and plans widely out of line with truth, however successful in happening on the islands which he falsely designated the "West Indies."

And there follows from these facts the manifest conclusion that when John Cabot sailed, and effected a discovery of continental mainland fourteen months before Columbus fooled away at the mouths of the Orinoco his chance to report, or at least record a true discovery of a new continent, he was doing what he might no less have done if Columbus had not "discovered the West Indies."

Venezuela is of special interest, from the fact of which the Britannica speaks as follows:

"The coast of Venezuela was the first part of the Ameri-

can mainland sighted by Columbus, who during his third voyage, in 1498, entered the Gulf of Paria and sailed along the coast of the delta of the Orinoco. In the following year a much greater extent of coast was traced out by Alonzo de Ojeda, who was accompanied by the more celebrated Amerigo Vespucci."

This brief mention touches the two men between whom lay the opportunity to notify the world that a new continent had been discovered,— Columbus on his third voyage and Vespucius a year later on his first. Columbus had every advantage, and Vespucius was at every disadvantage, for giving out to Europe and to all history new continental discoveries. Yet Columbus lost his chance; deliberately threw it away; turned his back on what should have been the climax of his career, and went steadily downward and backward, discredited by apparent failure and detested as a fraud; while Vespucius, seizing his opportunity, although a later one, turned in the news to a newspaper man, one of the very earliest that ever had the handling of a printing-press, and by doing so, happened on the great luck of having it suggested that what he had himself called a new world should be given the name, from his own name, of America.

In the "Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella," describing his third voyage to America, for which he sailed May 30, 1498, Columbus relates how he "saw land at noon of Tuesday, the 31st of July," and, putting in for the land, reached a cape which proved to be the southeastern point of the large island of Trinidad, lying opposite the mouths of the Orinoco. Heretofore Columbus had seen nothing but islands; now he was to see for the first time a continental coast. Sailing along the south coast of this island, Columbus passed through the strait between the southwestern point of the island and the coast of the continent into the

great gulf, lying between the island and the delta of the Orinoco. Here he found tremendous currents caused by the floods in the river at, as is supposed, its northern mouths. The delta includes about 200 miles of coast, and that part where Columbus tarried about two weeks seems to have been on the north. The main channel and mouth of the river was discovered by Ojeda later. Columbus took no pains to explore the coast or even to ascertain whether it was more than the coast of an island.

He had a peculiar reason for failing to do this, a reason which turned upon certain theories of his. He had always read, he tells us, that the world was spherical, as testified by Ptolemy and others, but, he declares, "I have come to another conclusion respecting the earth, namely, that it is not round, as they describe, but of the form of a pear, which is very round except where the stalk grows, at which part it is most prominent, this protusion being the highest and nearest the sky;" or, as he said again, "This western half of the world, I maintain, is like the half of a very round pear having a raised projection for the stalk." He inferred that "the extreme blandness of the temperature" must arise "from this country being the most elevated in the world and the nearest to the sky." He had not learned that elevation, as by ascent of a mountain, brings us into a region of cold even in the hottest climate and under the most intense heat of the sun.

Having thus made out in his own thoughts that he had reached the stem of the globe where, if he could proceed, he would come upon the topmost elevation of the world, he gave utterance to this conviction: "I believe it is impossible to ascend thither, because I am convinced that it is the spot of the earthly paradise, whither no one can go but by God's permission." He went on to explain that he supposed the earthly paradise to be "on the summit of

the spot which I have described as being in the form of the stalk of a pear," the approach to it being by a constant and gradual ascent, such that "no one could ever reach the top;" while the floods which he had seen he regarded as the abundance of waters pouring down from this topmost spot of the world. He thought that the site coincided with the opinion of learned theologians, and furthermore he said: "The other evidences agree with the supposition, for I have never either read or heard of fresh water coming in so large a quantity in close conjunction with the water of the sea; the idea is also corroborated by the blandness of the temperature; and if the water of which I speak does not proceed from the earthly paradise, it appears to be still more marvelous, for I do not believe that there is any river in the world so large or so deep." Columbus pronounced here his opinion that the waters of the sea, by holding a more rapid course just there, had "thus carried away large tracts of land and that from hence has resulted this great number of islands." He further said in support of his idea that the islands had been washed out to sea from the mainland. "These islands themselves afford an additional proof of it, for all of them, without exception, run lengthwise from west to east, and from the northwest to the southeast."

The possibility, if not certainty, of an immense mainland open to discovery distinctly presented itself to Columbus. Thus he said: "This land which Your Highnesses have now sent me to explore is very extensive, and I think there are many other countries in the south of which the world has never had any knowledge." Had Columbus sailed off to the south, instead of leaving it to Ojeda, Vespucius, and others, he would have made and reported the discovery of continental mainland. This he did not do, even with the overwhelming suggestion afforded by the flood from

the Orinoco of a great river pouring out from a great continent. He finally expressed himself in these terms: "I think that if the river mentioned does not proceed from the terrestrial paradise, it comes from an immense tract of land situated in the south, of which no knowledge has been hitherto obtained. But the more I reason on the subject the more satisfied I become that the terrestrial paradise is situated in the spot I have described."

So satisfied was Columbus with what seemed to him a pious conclusion that he made no effort to verify either then or later the possibility of "an immense tract of land situated in the south of which no knowledge has hitherto been obtained." He said on the last page of his letter: "And now, during the dispatch of the information respecting these lands which I have recently discovered, and where I believe in my soul the earthly paradise is situated, the Adelantado (his brother Bartholomew) will proceed with three ships well stocked with provisions on a further investigation, and will make all the discoveries he can about these parts." Whatever this promise referred to, nothing in the important direction of southern exploration was undertaken. It is the more remarkable that he did nothing because the plan of this third voyage had been to take a more southerly course with a view to the possibility of discovering continental land. The turn which both his thoughts and his actions took at the critical moment may have been determined by the fact that he lay helpless and blind at the time under the double stroke of agonizing gout and a malady of the eyes. At any rate, possessed by an entirely false conclusion, he sailed away for Hayti about August 15th, and found both himself and his brother with other things to attend to than the prosecution of new discovery to the south.

One thing, however, which proved his undoing he thor-

oughly attended to; he sent home to Spain the most glowing account that he could of new discoveries and sent specimens of pearls which had been found on the Orinoco coast. This led to voyages permitted by the Spanish crown without reference to Columbus and for the special purpose of following up the new discoveries which Columbus had promised to further prosecute. The first of these voyages was that of Ojeda, who sailed May 20, 1499, and Americus Vespucius with him. Ojeda had the charts which Columbus sent home, and followed his track along the Orinoco coast, until they entered a gulf where some pile dwellings of the natives suggested to them to leave the name Venezuela, in reference to Venice. This was the earliest christening of any part of the South American continent. Ojeda returned to Spain in June, 1500. Meanwhile Pedro Alonzo Nino, who had been pilot with Columbus on his first voyage, got leave to sail, and did sail early in June, 1499, to see what he could discover. He reached the Orinoco coast only fifteen days later than Ojeda, and, wasting no time in exploration, gathered a rich store of pearls and got back to Spain as early as April, 1500,—the first real evidence of wealth which could be had by sailing to the newly-discovered lands.

A third voyage was that of Vicente Yanez Pinzon, who had been with Columbus on his first voyage. He got away from Palos with four caravels early in December, 1499. Pinzon sailed eager to explore, and accomplished what Columbus had failed to do. He stood boldly to the southwest, crossed the equator, and on January 20, 1500, saw a cape which was probably the most easterly cape of the great southern continent. Pinzon then sailed north, passed the mouth of the Amazon, and passed the Orinoco coast, and after losing two of his ships, got back to Spain in September, 1500.

Once more, Diego de Lepe, sailing from Palos with two caravels in January, 1500, discovered still farther to the south the coast of the great south continent. And finally, the Portuguese commander, Cabral, after De Gama had succeeded in sailing round Africa to India, set out, March 9, 1500, with a fleet to repeat De Gama's voyage. The fleet took a course or else was driven out of its way, so far to the southwest as to be brought, on April 22d, to what is now the coast of Brazil. After examining the coast Cabral took possession for Portugal, May 1, 1500, and sent a caravel to Portugal with a letter carrying the news of what he had found and what he had done.

May 13th of the next year, 1501, a new Portuguese fleet sailed for the coast which Cabral had discovered. It met at the Cape de Verde Islands Cabral's fleet, which had been to India, and was then on its return to Portugal. Vespucius was with the west-bound fleet, and Cabral's discoveries were now reported to him by Cabral's secretary or interpreter, Gaspero. This new Portuguese expedition, which Vespucius accompanied, made extended exploration far down the coast of the new continent. By the 3d of April, 1502, they had reached the latitude of 52 degrees south, and from thence, being driven off the coast by a gale, they sailed east to Africa, and thence to Lisbon, which they reached September 7, 1502. Vespucius wrote an account in 1503 of this voyage. The Italian original of this account is lost, but a Latin translation of it bore the title, "Mundus Novus." The idea of it was that far to the south of the islands, to which Columbus had exclusively given attention, there was a new world. This account, extensively printed in 1504 and 1505, not only in Latin, but in Italian, German, and Dutch, was the foundation of the fame of Vespucius.

The press of the world did not at that time amount to

much, but with all that there was Vespucius got in the greatest "scoop," as the modern reporter says, in all history. He effectively reported the discovery of a new world. It was entirely without reference to the altogether different discoveries of Columbus, and Vespucius himself had nothing to do with the naming of the new world. It was from those who printed his story that the suggestion came to name it from the reporter, and the suggestion proved a successful one. The new world, referring solely to a great continental south mainland, was named America, quite separate from the islands to which Columbus had given the name of the Indies. The designation was later extended to include the north continent with the south, but still leaving to Columbus the islands on which he had taken the greatest pains to fasten the name of Indies.

Columbus, meanwhile, by entirely failing to prove his assertions in regard to gold and other wealth in the Indies, and by sending home natives to be sold as slaves, had so lost the confidence of Isabella as to occasion the sending out an officer of the royal household, Francisco de Bobadilla, with a commission which resulted in sending Columbus back to Spain as a criminal in chains; and, although he succeeded in making his peace with the Spanish crown, and, after two years of disheartening neglect, was permitted to make a fourth voyage, nothing ever came of it toward procuring for Columbus a contemporary relation to any discoveries except those on which he had concentrated his own interests, the islands which he so confidently pronounced to be "The Isles of India beyond the Ganges."

It is a circumstance of no little interest that experts have expressed the opinion that 400 miles above the mouth of the Orinoco, in southeastern Venezuela, and only thirty miles inland, there is the largest gold mine on earth. If Columbus had been of a sufficiently exploring spirit, had

been in health, and had been on the coast at the proper season of the year, he might have found this gold mine, might have reported the discovery of continental land, and might with the greatest certainty have made the world talk about him in connection with a new world, as it but a little later did talk about Vespucius.

A new and critical Life of Columbus, on lines of the real history of voyages and discoveries, ought to be offered to the world from Chicago, in atonement for the strange ignorance of history, so accessible in the Britannica, with which "Columbian" was written across the whole scene of historical commemoration in 1892–3.

When John Cabot, on our July 4th, landed on the mainland of North America, he set up a great cross, and unfurled above it the flag of England and the Venetian banner of St. Mark. The England of Queen Elizabeth built on this foundation and made possible the United States of North America. Discovery Day stands above Independence Day, in the larger view of history.

The London "Times" of March 6th published the following, under the head of "The Cabot Anniversary:"

"Yesterday was the four hundredth anniversary of an event which has always been understood to mark the foundation of the British Colonial Empire. On March 5, 1496, Henry VII granted a petition preferred by a Bristol captain and his three sons, praying the sanction of the crown to a contemplated voyage in search of unknown countries believed to exist beyond the ocean in northern latitudes. Pursuant to this petition, which is still preserved in the public record office, the privy seal was on the same day affixed to the first charter authorizing its holders to hoist the English flag on shores hitherto unknown to Christian people, and to acquire the sovereignty of them for the English crown. This charter, granted to John

Cabot and his sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus, stipulates that the grantees shall, after every voyage, return to the port of Bristol; that they shall then and there pay to the crown, in money or merchandise, one-fifth of their net profits; that they shall be permitted to import their merchandise free of customs; and that no English subject shall frequent the continents, islands, villages, towns, castles, and places discovered by them without their license. The Cabot charter and the voyages made pursuant to it were always regarded as the root of England's title to her American possessions. Charters of a similar kind had been from time to time granted by the Portuguese crown. While the Cabot patent disregards the Pope's partition of the globe between Portugal and Spain, it authorizes no intrusion into the southern seas in which each of these powers had already acquired colonial possessions by actual occupancy. Columbus' discoveries were as yet limited to the chain of islands separating the Caribbean sea from the Atlantic. Cabot's discoveries on his first voyage are disputed [as to their exact location], but it seems most probable that in 1497, if not in 1496, he reached the peninsula of Labrador, and coasted a considerable part, if not the whole, of its Atlantic shore, leaving the shores of Newfoundland, which he mistook, as he very well might do, for two islands instead of one, to starboard on his return. In any case, his title to be considered the first pioneer of English colonization is indisputable, and it is equally certain that the title of the English crown to the shores which he is generally understood to have reached has never been successfully questioned."

The recognition thus accorded upon the highest English authority to John Cabot as the instrument by which the northern continent of the new world was secured to England instead of Spain and the English Colonies, which

BRADDOCK'S RETREAT.

became the United States, were made possible, is beyond all doubt just and true. The four hundredth anniversary of the earliest event to which our North America looks back is that noted by the London "Times." The more important four hundredth anniversary in 1897, on the day, as far as it can now be known, which was counted four centuries ago as June 24th, but the present anniversary of which is our July 4th. It is entirely without coming into conflict in any way with the claims of Columbus, and doing no wrong to whatever credit history should give to Columbus, that English-speaking people interested in North America must, if they care anything for the truth of history, refer the North America which now exists to John Cabot's historically separate discovery and to 1497 as the true earliest North American date. But it was in the sequel to Cabot's work that England set a seal of imperial claim across the great north continent.

The Tudors, who reigned in England from 1485 to 1603, were a most remarkable race. They began with Henry VII, 1485–1509, under whom the Cabots discovered North America. As early as 1491 the age of new learning had fully dawned in England. The Utopia of Sir Thomas More, written a little later, represents this learning on lines which our best advance in culture of every kind has not yet overtaken; and for a plan the story is credited to a Portuguese who, "for the desire that he had to see and know the far countries of the world, had joined himself in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the three last voyages of the four that be now in print and abroad in every man's hands, had continued still in his company." This reference of the greatest writer at that date, 1516, shows what figure "Mayster Amerike," or

"Mayster Vespuce," had cut before the world, and how the narrative put forth by him had excited the universal interest which very naturally and very justly suggested calling the *novus mundus*, the news of which he gave, America.

Political exigencies drove Henry VII from the first into close relations with Spain, and these were cemented in 1501 by the marriage of the Infanta Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Arthur, Henry's eldest son. The death of Arthur left the Infanta a widow, but circumstances in Europe caused Spain to so much desire English good-will that Isabella, contrary to Catholic principle and contrary to the English King's feeling, strongly urged the union of Catharine with Arthur's brother Henry. The wishes of Isabella, a faithful Catholic, secured the consent of the Pope and a betrothal of the Infanta and the Prince took place. He was six years the younger, but when he came to the throne in 1509, her passionate love was, within two months, rewarded by the marriage which a cruel fate would turn to bitterness. Henry VIII was thus the son-in-law of Fedinand, and England a dependent of Spain. Henry promised that he would obey Ferdinand as he had obeyed his own father, and Catharine spoke of Henry and herself as Ferdinand's subjects.

Isabella had died in 1504, leaving a daughter married to Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian. Their son was Charles, who became the Emperor Charles V, and whose son Philip was to fill so large and so dark a place in the history of Europe. Ferdinand died in 1516, and was succeeded by his daughter's son, Charles V, who became Emperor in 1519, having been elected after his father's death.

The son of Charles V, Philip II of Spain, came to the Spanish throne in 1556. The life of Henry VIII of Eng-

land had run out in 1547; his son Edward had ruled under anti-Catholic guidance, 1547–53; and Mary had come to the English throne in 1553. To Mary, Philip II, the heir to Spain, was married in 1554, and when he left her in 1555 to prepare to succeed the next year to the throne of Spain, nothing seemed more unlikely than English defiance, defeat, and destruction of Spanish supremacy.

Mary was in many ways ardently Spanish, and by so much unpopular with those of her subjects who were every day becoming more and more prejudiced against Spanish power, and most of all against Philip, Mary's Spanish husband, who now wore the title of King, while the coin of the realm, bearing the name of Philip with that of Mary, made England seem apparently a part of Spain. And the situation thus unfortunately created by the antagonism of pro-English and pro-Spanish sympathies, became greatly aggravated when it appeared that Mary, who was twelve years older than her husband and in very poor health was childless, and that the marriage virtually gave England to Spain. The death of Mary changed everything. England became the inheritance of her half-sister Elizabeth.

Henry VIII, to whom the Infanta Catharine, though an excellent and faithful wife, had become a doubtful spouse when he saw no male child survive to be his heir, had been fascinated by a girl of sixteen about 1522, and January 25, 1533, he was secretly married to her, after a long scandal of shameless divorce proceedings to get rid of Catharine. It turned out badly for Anne Boleyn, wife and Queen though she became, because Henry found out, or rather supposed that he did, that she had misbehaved before her marriage, and for that he ruthlessly put her to death. But she had borne to him a daughter, Elizabeth, a woman destined to the greatest place and the grandest fortune Engand from first to last has known. Like

George Eliot, the woman-Socrates of our time, she got from her mother some points of weakness or waywardness of character, but all the same the motherhood of which she came, queenly and powerful for the moment, with what of greatest there was in her father, had served to create, beneath superficial frailties sufficiently scandalous, a lion-hearted mother-monarch the greatest that ever sat on a throne.

And in the events of her career lay more of the future of the world than in any other life ever known. There would have been no such North America as gave the United States but for the changes which her great reign effected. It has not been noted in history, but the unquestioned fact is that there would have been no Pilgrim Fathers and no planting by them of New England, but for the train of events set in motion by her peculiar course in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. The defiance, defeat, and destruction of the supremacy of Spain, in both the old world and the new, was the greatest work of Elizabeth, due to the might of her spirit and to the masterly skill and courage of her seamen.

Philip II had reached inordinate greatness, in territory, in arms by land and sea, and in wealth, when the struggle came. Naples and Milan, the best parts of Italy, were his. He ruled the Low Countries, and was master of Flanders, where manufactures were more developed than anywhere else in Europe, and of Antwerp, then the greatest center of commerce of the world. In 1580 he absorbed Portugal and doubled thereby his naval power. Cortez and Pizarro had given him Mexico and Peru, the wealth of which realized those dreams of Columbus which were his ruin in the "West Indies." Spain itself put into the field the best soldiers the world had seen since the legions

of Rome, and generals as marvelously able as they were ruthlessly cruel.

The ancestor of Philip, Ferdinand, had very early blotted out popular liberty in Castile, Isabella's kingdom, and Philip served that of Aragon in the same way. He set the Duke of Alva, whose niece the son of Columbus married, to crush out both liberty and heresy in the Low Countries; and when the Thirty Years' War fell with its terrible blight on Germany, it was by the malignity of Spain. There seemed nothing to hinder dealing with England on the same lines of relentless Spanish despotism; and there was nothing but the spirit of Elizabeth and the skill and courage of her fighting seamen.

So early as in the reign of Mary, three ships under Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor had struck west and north in quest of a passage to Asia. The commander and two of the ships were frozen on the coast of Lapland, but Chancellor got through to the White Sea and opened at Archangel trade with Russia. Again, in 1576, Martin Frobisher, representing English thoughts of the new world, sailed to the coast of Labrador in hope of a northwestern passage to India.

From the time of the Cabots, 1497–8, and notably under Henry VIII, Englishmen sought the North American coast for fish, and found therein a school of hardy seamanship. And as the politics of Spain, aimed to destroy Elizabeth in the interests of Spain and the papacy, gradually developed a desperate antagonism, though without open war, between the two powers, there grew into wide vigor and daring an effort of England, its people rather than its government, and by sea rather than land, to do harm to Spain, and especially to Spanish monopoly of the new world.

When Charles V came to the throne, at the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, in 1516, twelve years later than the

death of Isabella, "Spanish rule," in the words of Greene, whose authority cannot be questioned, "had hardly spread beyond the island of St. Domingo, which Columbus had discovered twenty years before,"—so little true is it that Columbus gave to Spain a new world. All that was later work by other hands. Mr. Greene goes on after the statement just quoted, as follows:

"But greed and enterprise drew Cortez to the mainland, and in 1521 his conquest of Mexico added a realm of gold to the dominions of the Emperor. Ten years later the great Empire of Peru yielded to the arms of Pizarro. With the conquest of Chili the whole western coast of South America passed into the hands of Spain; and successive expeditions planted the Spanish flag at point upon point along the coast of the Atlantic from Florida to the river Plate (south of Brazil). A papal grant had conveyed the whole of America to the Spanish crown, and fortune seemed for long years to ratify the judgment of the Vatican. No European nation save Portugal disputed the possession of the new world, and Portugal was too busy with its discoveries in Africa and India to claim more than the territory of Brazil. A Huguenot colony which settled in Florida was cut to pieces by the Spaniards. Only in the far north did a few French settlers find rest beside the waters of the St. Lawrence. England had reached the mainland even earlier than Spain, for before Columbus touched its shores [in the south] Sebastian Cabot sailed with an English crew from Bristol in 1497. But no Englishman followed on the track of this bold adventurer; and while Spain built up her empire in the new world, the English seamen reaped a humbler harvest in the fisheries of Newfoundland. The one result of the first discovery of the western continent was to give an enormous impulse to the most bigoted and tyrannical among the powers of

Europe, and to pour the gold of Mexico and Peru into the treasury of Spain."

Four years had hardly passed from Elizabeth's accession before English seadogs, under one plea or another, were swarming in the English Channel. It became in due time a quest of Spanish booty wherever it could be found; and that soon meant ripping open the veil thrown by Spain over the seas and shores of America.

The genuius of Drake led him to set on foot schemes for every possible undoing of Spain in America. In 1572 he sailed to the Isthmus of Panama, where, once a year, were brought the gold and silver from the mines of Peru, and bursting with his handful of men into the Governor's house, he said to his companions: "I have brought you to the mouth of the treasury of the world." Wounded and beaten off, he frankly proclaimed somewhat later to a Spaniard: "I am resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest which you have got out of the earth and sent to Spain to trouble the earth." He was shown by some natives where to climb a tree, from which, first of Englishmen, he saw the waters of the Pacific, and throwing himself on his knees he prayed to God to allow him to live to sail an English vessel on those seas.

In 1577 he set sail for a skirmish clear round South America and entirely round the world, with three ships, of which his own, the largest, was of but 100 tons. In the stormy Straits of Magellan he alone passed through, but, ranging up the coast he easily caught the Spaniards everywhere off their guard, and made many captures of precious booty, including the cargo of a great vessel, from which he got a large store of jewels, thirteen chests of silver coin, eighty pounds' weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver.

Going north as high as California he made a landing

in the harbor now that of San Francisco, took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and planted the name "New Albion." A monument recently erected marks the spot of this prophetic defiance of Spain on the coast thus far exclusively Spanish.

Drake struck thence directly across the Pacific, reached the true Isles of India beyond the Ganges, 7,000 miles beyond the goal of the voyages of Columbus, and thence took his course home by the way of the south cape of Africa, and came to England in 1580, the first commander who had circumnavigated the globe. Magellan's expedition had gone clear round before him, but the commander had died on the way.

The King of Spain in a great fury demanded from Elizabeth the surrender of Drake. Her reply was to make him Sir Francis Drake. Philip angrily insisted on the return of the half million sterling of wealth which the bold sailor had gleaned in Pacific waters. Her reply was to have the jewels which Drake had presented to her set in the crown which she wore. The Spanish ambassador thought to move her by saying that "matters would come to the cannon," and to this threat her answer was that if he talked in that way to her she would fling him into a dungeon. The official wrote to his master describing how "she quietly, in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story, replied that if I used threats of that kind she would fling me into a dungeon."

This defiance was flung at Philip just as he was reaching his highest position of resources and power and advantage. His general in the Netherlands was winning both military and diplomatic success. At the death, in the year of Drake's return, of the King of Portugal, Philip's claim to absorb it was successfully backed by Alva marching upon Lisbon, and thus Spain almost doubled her

power, more than doubled her naval strength, secured colonies richer than her own, and got the richest trade in the world. With the close of 1583 Spanish successes left Elizabeth face to face with the master of what seemed irresistible forces, to whom it was becoming a necessity to crush England, in order to final defeat of Dutch revolt, and to preserve his monopoly of the new world by disabling the power that suffered Drake to sweep the seas. In August, 1585, Antwerp, the seat of European commerce, which London had not yet become, became the last splendid prize of Spanish victory.

Yet Elizabeth and her seadogs held their course of cool defiance undaunted. English freebooters dashed boldly into the Spanish seas of the new world, full of hatred of Spain and resolved to win English dominion beyond the Atlantic. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh's brother-in-law, and one of nature's noblemen, sought the coast of North America to plant a colony, and, returning from defeat of his plans, was overtaken in his ship of only ten tons by a terrible storm at night. The companions of his voyage, sailing near when wreck threatened his little craft, heard him cry, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Raleigh himself sent an expedition which planted at least a great name on the continent of North America, that of "Virginia," a compliment to the Virgin Queen of England.

Drake in 1585 was permitted to sail to the Spanish Main with a fleet of twenty-five vessels, where he burned the cities of St. Domingo and Carthagena to revenge Spanish treatment of English sailors; plundered the coasts of Cuba and Florida; and gathered a heavy booty, with which he returned home in the summer of 1586. On the continent Elizabeth had taken an open hand with troops as well as money in the stout resistance of the Dutch to

the prodigious pounding kept up by the generals of Philip; and with this English army in Flanders and Drake defiant and destructive in the West Indies, it was but too clear to Philip that he must strike with all his might at England. The fight was one of intense antagonism between the two parties into which England was broken by bitter religious differences, and by consequence it was less what the hapless Mary had intended than what the respective parties sought to accomplish, the one by using her claims against those of Elizabeth, and the other by making the seat of Elizabeth more secure through compassing the death of Mary (February 8, 1587).

The reply of Philip was the Spanish Armada, to all appearance as irresistible as it was immense and magnificent, 132 vessels covering seven miles of sea as they swept in a broad crescent past Plymouth harbor, where the English fleet of but eighty vessels lay ready to fall on their rear. Of the thirty larger Queen's ships only four were equal in tonnage to the smallest of the Spanish galleons, and the other fifty craft of the eighty were not bigger than the common pleasure yachts of a later time. Spain had sixty-five great galleons; four gigantic galleasses carrying fifty guns apiece; fifty-six armed merchantmen, and twenty pinnaces; with 2,500 cannon, 20,000 soldiers, and 8,000 seamen.

But the English shipwrights had put their skill into ships that could be handled better than the Spanish; English seamanship was vastly better than Spanish; the marine artillery of England made the Spanish method of getting to close quarters and letting musketry do the work almost useless; and English commanders thoroughly knew the trade of sea fighting, while Philip had put the Armada under a Spanish duke who knew nothing of the sea and nothing of war. The faster English ships, carry-

ing more and heavier cannon than the Spanish, and marines and sailors, rather than soldiers, made easy game of the lumbering magnificence, the small-shotted cannon, and the throng of useless musketeers on the great decks of Spain's big Armada.

Letting the seven miles of Spanish bravery go by before the west wind, Drake and the English captains tore furiously at the rear of the enemy, until with the loss of several ships, they were glad to put into Calais for refuge; a refuge from the which English fire-ships sent in speedily drove them, and brought on a pitched battle off Gravelines, in which the English did all the pitching, their swifter ships, and guns of longer range, and heavier shot, riddling unmercifully the helpless bulk of the clumsy Armada.

Wind and storm came to the aid of the English victors, driving the fleets past the coast of Flanders, where Philip's ablest general, the Duke of Parma, with an army, lay ready for the Armada to fall on the Dutch fleet blockading his port and to convey him over to the conquest of England. As the tall galleons and gigantic galleasses of Spain swept on before the storm, hard pressed by Elizabeth's seadogs, Parma saw that it was a worse than Dutch business. With sails torn, masts shot away, and 4,000 dead or dying on their crowded decks, the Spanish captains saw no hope but to beat a retreat up the North Sea, around Scotland to the west of Ireland, and so back to Spain.

Over the top of Scotland the northern storms completed the destruction which Drake's well-handled ships and guns had begun. The flower of Spain's nobility were swallowed by the pitiless sea. Eight thousand Spaniards perished on a storm-swept coast. On a single strand the sea cast up 1,100 of the dead. Only fifty ships at last reached Co-

runna, and these brought 10,000 men dying of the pestilence which had smitten the suffering ships.

The question of England and of Spain, on the sea and the land, in the old world and the new, was settled forever. England rose beyond the reach of any foe, and Spain fell, to lose the Netherlands in the near future, to be stripped of her holdings in Italy in the next century, and at last to find all of America gone save the island of Cuba.

In 1604, after the death of Elizabeth, a treaty of peace with Spain, left England secure of North America. The settlement of Virginia was begun in 1607, and that of New England in 1620. The work begun by Cabot on that day of discovery, which is our July 4, in the year 1497, gave at last the hope of our America. If Queen Elizabeth had been the mere creature of scandalous faults which in every-day externals of character she seems to have been; if she had not been in her deeper nature and better self colossal in mother concern for her people and in the courage of her race and her throne, there might have long hung across the whole breadth of our South, the Spanish cloud of corroding despotism, which is to this hour the infamy of civilization. If adequate learning had attended the celebration by the United States of what our America has become, and what acknowledgments are due from the land of the Pilgrim Fathers and of Washington, there would have arisen above every other monument of the splendid scene, the memorial figure of the woman-monarch whose captains planted New Albion on the Pacific southwest of our continent, and "Virginia," the Virginia of that time being an empire of which New England was the northeastern part.

Recurrence to facts such as these more than suggests that "New France" was planted on English domain, that Jacques Cartier, entering the St. Lawrence in 1534, was a

French intruder, that all that followed from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi trampled upon English rights, and that Spain unadvisedly and unwarrantably encroached in attempting any hold whatever upon soil north of the Gulf. That the gods of world-destiny thought so, is writ large on the history of the end of the nineteenth century.]

CHAPTER II.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST BATTLE.

1754.

CAPTAIN CONTRECŒUR and his troops were now in full possession of the military work commenced by Captain Trent, whom they had driven from this post at the Fork of the Ohio.

With but three companies, consisting of 150 men, Colonel Washington could not prudently proceed to the fort to attack a force so very greatly superior to his own in numbers and equipment. He wrote therefore to the Governors of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and asked for additions to his little band.

He resolved to march on however while the proposed enlistment was in progress; to repair to the mouth of Redstone creek, which was thirty-seven miles from the captured post; to erect a fort there, and to wait for reinforcements; but, in the event of their not reaching him in time, to be prepared for a retreat.

[To Governor Sharpe of Maryland, Washington wrote from Will's Creek April 24, of Captain Trent's surrender of "his small fortress in the Forks of the Monongahela;" of his arrival thus far with a detachment of 159 men; of Colonel Fry expected to follow with the remainder of the regiments and artillery; of the work being done upon roads fit for the carriage of the great guns; and of the design to proceed as far as the mouth of Red Stone Creek on the Monongahela, thirty-seven miles above the fort

surrendered to the French, where a storehouse built by the Ohio Company would, for the present, serve to receive their ammunition and provisions. In apology for writing to one whose acquaintance he had never made, Washington said: "It was the glowing zeal I owe my country that influenced me to impart these advices that should rouse from the lethargy we have fallen into, the heroic spirit of every freeborn Englishman." A letter of similar import was sent to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, and laid before the Legislature of that Colony. To Governor Dinwiddie he had written April 15, reporting the steps he had taken, and saying. "I hope my proceedings will be satisfactory to your Honor, as I have, to the utmost of my knowledge, consulted the interest of the expedition and good of my country; whose rights, while they are asserted in so just a cause, I will defend to the last remains of my life." He further says that at Red Stone Creek "we will fortify ourselves as strongly as the short time will allow."]

On the 1st day of May he set out from Wills Creek. His march was however very tedious. Many and great difficulties were encountered in his course through woods and marshes and among rocks with an inadequate supply of provisions for his men. Having on the 20th day of May (1754), reached the Youghiogheny, a branch of the Monongahela, he found it impossible to convey his troops across but by the tardy process of building a bridge. His effort to avoid this resort he has himself described. And his account affords a new and happy illustration of his characteristic qualities:

"On the 20th of May I embarked in a canoe with Lieutenant West, three soldiers, and an Indian. Having followed the river for about half a mile we were obliged to go ashore, where we found a trader who seemed to dis-

courage my attempt to seek a passage by water, which caused me to change my intention of having canoes made.

"I ordered the troops to wade the river, as the waters had now sufficiently subsided. I continued to descend the river, but finding our canoe too small for six persons we stopped to construct a bark, with which and the canoe we reached Turkey Foot just as the night began. Eight or ten miles farther onward we encountered several difficulties which were of little consequence. At this point we stopped some time to examine the position and found it well suited for a fort, being at the mouth of three branches or small rivers and having a gravelly foundation.

"We went down about two miles to examine the course of the river which is straight with many currents and full of rocks and rapids. We crossed it, though the water was high, which induced me to believe the canoes would easily pass, but this was not effected without difficulty.

"Besides these rapids we met with others, but the water being more shallow and the current smoother, we passed them easily. We then found the water very deep and mountains rising on both sides. After proceeding ten miles we came to a fall in the river which arrested our progress and compelled us to go ashore and desist from any further attempt."*

On returning to his men (May 24, 1754) he learned from friendly Indians, sent to him by his ally the Half-King, Tanacharison, that the French, rapidly marching toward him and now near at hand, were resolved on an encounter. He took a favorable position at a level spot in a glade, near a creek, and amid gently rising hills. The glade was known

* This extract is from a journal of Washington's, which was taken by the French at the battle of the Monongahela, and parts of which were published at Paris, in 1756.

as "The Great Meadows." "I hurried to this place," says he, "as a convenient spot. We have, with nature's assistance, made a good intrenchment, and by clearing the bushes out of these meadows prepared a charming field for an encounter."*

Mr. Gist, who now visited the camp, reported, that the day before (May 27, 1754), at his plantation, thirteen miles distant, he had seen M. La Force, a French officer, with fifty men, whose footsteps he traced to a spot five miles from the Great Meadows. Seventy-five of Washington's men were sent in pursuit but could not find the French roving party.

Tanacharison, together with a number of his warriors, was but six miles from the spot. He also sent, after 8 o'clock on the night of the same day, intelligence of a French detachment's being near. With forty of his men, Colonel Washington, at once, before 10 o'clock, hastened to the Indian camp, regardless of a heavy rain and a night of intense darkness and of obstacles offered by an almost impenetrable forest. "We were," says he, "frequently tumbled one over another, and often so lost that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again."†

At early dawn he met in council with his Indian ally. It was agreed to unite in an attack upon the enemy; Washington to be on the right and Tanacharison on the left.

The French were soon traced to a secluded nook among rocks half a mile distant from the common road. They were surprised in their lurking place. They were attacked (May 28, 1754). And in the skirmish which

* Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, from Great Meadows, May 27, 1754.

† Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, May 29, 1754.

ensued, and which lasted about fifteen minutes, the French party was defeated, eleven of their number being killed and one wounded. Twenty-one were captured. Of Washington's party only one was killed and two or three were wounded. The Indians sustained no loss, as the enemy's fire was aimed exclusively at the band led by Washington. The prisoners were forthwith sent to Governor Dinwiddie.

Of the slain among the French one was their commander, M. de Jumonville. And as the alleged particulars of his death have given cause to an unfortunate and false representation of the fact, and as French writers have, in works of history, biography, and poetry,* put on record sentiments which would detract from the fair fame of Washington, it is proper that the means should be furnished for his vindication.

It has been said that Jumonville, having been surprised and twice fired upon by the English, "made a sign that he was the bearer of a letter from his commandant," and that "he caused the summons to be read, but the reading was not finished when the English repeated their fire, and killed him."† It has been said that "the English ranged in a circle round him, listened to the representations which he came to make." "They assassinated Jumonville and immolated eight soldiers, who fell bleeding by the side of their chief." "The detachment of the English who committed this atrocity was commanded by Washington. This officer, who afterward displayed the purest virtues of the warrior, the citizen, and the sage, was then no more

* M. Thomas composed and published, in 1759, a poem on the subject, remarkable for its extravagance, entitled "L'Assassinat de M. de Jumonville, en Amérique, et la Vengeance de ce Muertre."

† M. Flassan's "Histoire de la Diplom. Française." Tom. VI, p. 28. Paris, 1811.

than twenty-two years old. He could not restrain the wild and undisciplined troops who marched under his orders."* Many other French writers have reiterated this representation and have indulged in strictures marked with great severity. But eloquence and poetry have on this occasion been expended upon a fictitious scene.

The origin of the false picture may be traced to a Canadian, Mouceau, one of Jumonville's party, who escaped from the scene of the engagement and to some savages who said that they were present with the French. But no savages whatever were seen with Jumonville at the time, and Mouceau's account has no confirmation from any source.

When Washington first heard of the allegation, he wrote a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, and declared that the report was "absolutely false." "These officers," says he, alluding to Major Drouillon and M. La Force, who were among the captives on the occasion, "pretend they were coming on an embassy; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the instructions and summons inclosed. Their instructions were to reconnoiter the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do.

"These enterprising men were purposely chosen out to procure intelligence which they were to send back by some brisk dispatches, with the mention of the day that they were to serve the summons, which could be with no other view than to get a sufficient reinforcement to fall upon us immediately after. This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly that they were sent as spies rather than anything else, and has

* M. Lacretelle's "Hist. de France." Tom. II, p. 234. Paris, 1809.

occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors.

"They, finding that we were encamped, instead of coming up in a public manner, sought out one of the most secret retirements, fitter for a deserter than an ambassador to encamp in, and stayed there two or three days, sending spies to reconnoiter our camp, as we are told, though they deny it. Their whole body moved back near two miles; and they sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecœur with our strength and where we were encamped. Now, thirty-six men would almost have been a retinue for a princely ambassador instead of a petit.

"Why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within five miles of us without delivering their message or acquainting me with it? Their waiting could be with no other design than to get detachments to enforce the summons as soon as it was given.

"They had no occasion to send out spies, for the name of an ambassador is sacred among all nations; but it was by the track of those spies that they were discovered and that we got intelligence of them. They would not have retired two miles back without delivering the summons and sought a skulking-place (which, to do them justice, was done with great judgment), but for some special reason. Besides, the summons is so insolent, and savors so much of gasconade, that if two men only had come to deliver it openly, it would have been too great an indulgence to send them back."*

In two other letters to the Governor, he refers to the subject. "I have heard," says he, "since they went away,

* Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, from the camp at the Great Meadows, May 29, 1754.

that they should say they called to us not to fire; but that I know to be false, for I was the first man that approached them and the first whom they saw; and immediately upon it, they ran to their arms and fired briskly till they were defeated." "These deserters corroborate what the others said and we suspected. La Force's party were sent out as spies, and were to show that summons if discovered or overpowered by a superior party of ours."*

In his journal which was taken by the French and published at Paris, he says: "They pretend that they called to us as soon as we were discovered, which is absolutely false; for I was at the head of the party in approaching them, and I can affirm that as soon as they saw us they ran to their arms without calling, which I should have heard had they done so."

The Half-King, expressing his opinion of the real intentions of Jumonville and his party, said that they had "bad hearts," and that they "never designed to come but in a hostile manner."

The fate of Jumonville surely cannot, in the face of Washington's arguments and averment, be termed an "assassination," without an utter disregard both of the import of the word and of the claims of truth. And it is incumbent upon grave historians and biographers of France to cease from reiterating and perpetuating so flagrant a falsehood, calculated to tarnish the character of one whose name History has enrolled among those of the wisest and the best that have adorned humanity.

* Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, without date; and a letter to him, dated Great Meadows, June 10, 1754.

CHAPTER III.

WASHINGTON'S CAPITULATION OF FORT NECESSITY.

1754.

WASHINGTON was now encamped at the Great Meadows. Colonel Fry, who had long been prevented by sickness from joining him, died at Wills Creek on the last day of May (1754); and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, next to him in rank, succeeded in command.

A pleasing moral and religious association with Washington and his men at their Fort Necessity is "his custom to have prayers in the camp." His affectionate friend, the Hon. William Fairfax, of Belvoir, wrote to him while at the Great Meadows: "I will not doubt your having public prayers in the camp, especially when the Indian families are your guests; that they, seeing your plain manner of worship, may have their curiosity excited to be informed why we do not use the ceremonies of the French, which, being well explained to their understanding, will more and more dispose them to receive our baptism and unite in strict bonds of cordial friendship."

As to religious influences upon the red men, which may have been exerted in this manner, we are not informed, but the fact of there being stated religious services at the camp is well known. A public recognition of the providence of God, and of the duty of prayer to him, was the rule of Washington throughout his military career.

A trial of his principles and a severe test of his fortitude and prudence occurred at this time.

The brave officers of his little band, while they were encountering the peculiar trials of wilderness warfare, were so very poorly compensated, in comparison with officers of the King's troops, that dissatisfaction, murmurings, and at length loud complaints ensued. Then followed as a natural consequence irrepressible emotions of jealousy and threats of abruptly abandoning the service. It was a crisis which called for the exercise of great tact and talent. But the emergency served to exemplify the sterling qualities of the future Father of his Country. In letters to the Governor, he set forth, with great earnestness and in explicit terms, the fact, the causes, and the only effectual remedy of the discontent. And at the same time he quieted, in a good measure, the prevailing turbulence by skillfully touching those chords in the hearts of his comrades which he well knew would respond to sentiments of honor, patriotism, and loyalty.

[Washington wrote May 18, 1754, to Dinwiddie of complaint by the officers of "the committee's resolves," and of finding himself inclined "to second their just grievances." Nothing, he said, prevented their throwing up their commissions except the near danger from the French. The committee had refused to make their pay reasonable, but had allowed a gratuity, and the officers preferred to give their services, taking neither the gratuity nor the scant pay. For himself Washington said: "Giving up my commission is quite contrary to my intention. But let me serve voluntarily; then I will, with the greatest pleasure in life, devote my services to the expedition without any other reward than the satisfaction of serving my country; but to be slaving dangerously for the shadow of pay, through woods, rocks, mountains,— I would rather

prefer the great toil of a daily laborer and dig for a maintenance, provided I were reduced to the necessity, than serve upon such ignoble terms" [as "the present pay," hardly more than half what was paid elsewhere]; "the most trifling pay that ever was given to English officers," with "the glorious allowance of solider's diet — a pound of pork, with bread in proportion, per day." Dinwiddie expressed great surprise and concern to find Washington "countenancing in any sort, the discontent that could never be more unreasonable or pernicious than at present." To this Washington replied that when he was informed that the pay of a colonel was to be only fifteen shillings a day, and of a lieutenant-colonel only twelve shillings and sixpense, the fact that it was "less than the British" (by nearly one-half), led him to acquaint Colonel Fairfax with his intention of resigning, and that he was dissuaded from doing so by the promise of Colonel Fairfax "to represent the trifling pay" in the proper quarter and have it enlarged. The number that applied for commissions, he said, would not have been troublesomely large, if the difficulties that would attend a campaign had been known to others as they were known to him. Not that he would resign, he said, because of any difficulties. "For my own part I can answer," he declared, "I have a constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe trials, and I flatter myself, resolution to face what any man durst, as shall be proved when it comes to the test, which I believe we are on the borders of.

"There is nothing, sir (I believe), than that the officers on the Canada expedition [projected by General Shirley in 1746, during the previous war with France] had British pay allowed whilst they were in the service. Therefore as this can't be allowed, suffer me to serve as a volunteer, which I assure you, will be the next reward to British

pay; for as my services, so far as I have knowledge, will equal those of the best officer, I make it a point of honor not to serve for less and accept a medium. Nevertheless I have communicated your Honor's sentiments to them [the officers serving with him], and as far as I could put on the hypocrite, set forth the advantages that may accrue, and advised them to accept the terms, as a refusal might reflect dishonor on their character, leaving it to the world to assign what reasons they please for their quitting the service. They have promised to consider of it and give your Honor an answer, though I really believe there are some that will not remain long without an alteration.

"I believe it is well known that we have been at the expense of regimentals, and it is still better known, that under an indispensable necessity of purchasing for this expedition, regimentals and every other necessary were not to be bought for less Virginia currency than British officers could get for sterling money.

"We are debarred the pleasure of good living; which, sir (I dare say with me you will concur), to one who has always been used to it, must go somewhat hard, to be confined to a little salt provision and water, and do duty, hard, laborious duty, that is almost inconsistent with that of a soldier, and yet the same reductions (of pay) as if we were allowed to live luxuriously. My pay, according to the British establishment and common exchange, is near twenty-two shillings per day; in the room of that the committee (for I can't in the least imagine your Honor had any hand in it) has provided twelve shillings and sixpense; so long as the service requires me, whereas one-half of the other is ascertained to British officers forever. If we should be fortunate enough to drive the French

from the Ohio, our pay will not be sufficient to discharge our first expenses.

"I would not have your Honor imagine from this that I have said all these things to have the pay increased, but to justify myself and show your Honor that our complaints are not frivolous, but are founded upon strict reason. For my own part, it is a matter almost indifferent whether I serve for full pay or as a generous volunteer. Indeed, did my circumstances correspond with my inclination, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter; for the motives that led me here were pure and noble; I had no view of acquisition but that of honor, by serving faithfully my King and country."

Washington having thus answered Dinwiddie's criticism of his report of complaints, and added an account of the battle with the Jumonville detachment, further says: "I shall expect every hour to be attacked, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand if there are five to one * * * . Your Honor may depend I will not be surprised, let them come at what hour they will; and this is as much as I can promise. But my best endeavors shall not be wanting to deserve more. I doubt not but if you hear I am beaten, you will at the same time hear that we have done our duty in fighting as long as there was a possibility of hope.

"I have sent Lieutenant West to conduct the prisoners in. I have showed them [the two French officers] all the respect I could, and have given some necessary clothing, by which I have disfurnished myself; for having brought no more than two or three shirts from Wills Creek, that we might be light, I was ill provided to furnish them."

The revelations of character in this episode show a preparation, a score of years before the event, for the

stand taken by Washington when he was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United Colonies, and the condition that he made that he should have his expenses paid, and beyond that should not be upon a footing of pay for his services.]

Another incident occurred soon after which he controlled with the consummate skill of an experienced master in the management of human passions.

It was a rule adopted by the British ministry, in ordering military affairs in the Colonies, that officers with royal commissions should take precedence of all others. The operation however of the principle involved in this always tended to provoke jealousy and create discord.

When an independent company of a hundred men under command of Captain Mackay, who had a royal commission, went from South Carolina to the Great Meadows, a case presented itself which was exceedingly embarrassing. According to the established rule, he took rank of Colonel Washington, who, as a Colonial officer, had received his commission from Governor Dinwiddie. The captain, although on terms of perfect harmony with Washington, could not consistently receive orders from him as a superior officer. The encampment also of the King's captain and his company was quite apart from that of the troops under the Colonial colonel. In the event of a conflict with the enemy — and one was constantly expected — this point of rank might be the cause of serious evils.

The colonel wrote to the Governor, asking him promptly to decide the matter. The Governor expressed doubts. The embarrassment increased. The colonel's officers and men could not brook the thought of their commander's deposition from his grade; and they cherished angry party feelings, which must have led to ruinous

results, had they not been immediately and judiciously controlled.

In these circumstances Washington, with a bold hand, cut what could not be united. After enlarging and strengthening his Fort Necessity, he resolved to leave Captain Mackay and his men in charge of it and to proceed with his regiment to the Monongahela.

He accordingly set out and advanced thirteen miles to Gist's plantation. But before he reached this spot, he met with unexpected formidable difficulties in making a road for his artillery and in quieting the noisy cupidity and eluding the sly artifices of pretended Indian allies, who proved to be French spies. He advised with his officers; he concluded, instead of marching farther, to wait there for the enemy; and he prepared for an encounter, as he learned that the French might be expected very soon.

At his request Captain Mackay joined him with his company. Credible accounts of the enemy's reinforcement and great strength, it was agreed, however, rendered a retreat advisable. The troops too were quite exhausted with fatigue, having borne on their backs heavy burdens and having dragged over rough roads nine swivels. So poorly moreover were they supplied with horses that the colonel himself, having dismounted and having laden his war-steed with public stores, went on foot, sharing the hardships of the common soldiers.

The troops succeeded with great difficulty in reaching the Great Meadows, after two days' march. They were compelled to halt there (July 1, 1754). For eight days they had eaten no bread and had taken little of any other food. They could not retreat farther. Here then it was resolved to make a stand. Trees were felled, and a log breastwork was raised at the fort.

Two days elapsed, and then early in the morning, a sentinel, wounded by the enemy, gave the signal of their approach. Before noon distant firing was heard, and the enemy, consisting of French troops and of Indians, reached a wood the third of a mile from Fort Necessity. Washington drew up his regiment of 305 men, including officers, and waited for an assault.

For nine hours — the rain, without intermission, pouring down in torrents — both parties kept up a desultory fire of small-arms. By that time the French had killed all the horses and the cattle at the fort; the rain had filled all the trenches; the firearms of many of the Virginia troops were out of order; twelve men of these troops were killed and forty-three wounded.

At 8 o'clock the French proposed a parley. Washington declined; they urged, and Captain Vanbraam was then deputed to them. Very soon he brought with him from M. de Villiers, the French commander, proposed articles of capitulation.

The overpowering number of the enemy induced Washington to come to terms. He consented, after a modification of the proposed articles, to leave his fort the next morning (July 4, 1754); but he was to leave it with the honors of war, and with the understanding that he should surrender nothing but his artillery. The prisoners of Jumonville's party, it was stipulated, should be returned; and for a year's time no fort should be built at this post, or anywhere beyond the Alleghanies on lands belonging to France.

The articles of capitulation, written in the French language, were professedly interpreted by Vanbraam. But they were read by him hastily at night in the open air by the flickering light of a candle during a violent rain. The transaction was altogether a confused and hurried one. And

so bungling and blind was Vanbraam's English oral interpretation — the interpretation made by a Dutchman, imperfectly acquainted with either English or French — that not perhaps through any treachery of his, but rather through the vindictive feelings and artful contrivance of M. de Villiers, brother of Jumonville — Washington and his officers were betrayed into a pledge which they would never have consented to give, and an act of moral suicide which they could never have deliberately committed. They understood from Vanbraam's interpretation that no fort was to be built beyond the mountains on lands belonging to the King of France; but the terms of the articles are "neither in this place, nor beyond the mountains."* They understood, from Vanbraam's interpretation, that the prisoners were to be returned who had been taken at the time of the death of Jumonville; but the terms of the article are "prisoners taken at Jumonville's assassination."†

The terms in which M. de Villiers afterward boasted of his diplomacy on the occasion are at once an exposure of his artifice and a vindication of the character of those whom he attempted to confound with self-condemnation.

When the account which de Villiers gave of the battle was communicated to Washington he made these comments upon it:

"It is very extraordinary and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known that we received it at 600 paces' distance. He also says our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledges that we sustained the attack warmly from 10 in the morning un-

* Dans ce lieu-ci, ni deça de la hauteur des terres.

† Les prisonniers fait dans l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville.

til dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth he must have confessed that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on that account, until they desired an officer might be sent to them and gave their parole for his return. He might also, if he had been as great a lover of truth as he was of vainglory, have said that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals and would consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained.

"That we were willfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word 'assassination' I do aver and will to my dying moment; so will every officer who was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman little acquainted with the English tongue, and therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is he called it the 'death' or the 'loss' of the Sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation."*

On the morning (July 4, 1754) after the signing of the articles of capitulation Washington, amid the beating of his drums and with his colors flying, set out for Wills Creek. He had however scarcely left the Meadows when he encountered 100 Indians, allies of the French, who greatly annoyed him with their hostile purposes and their rapacity.

On reaching Wills Creek he hastened with Captain Mackay to the Governor at Williamsburg, whom they particularly informed of the events of their expedition. Both

* Writings of Washington, vol. II, pp. 463, 464.

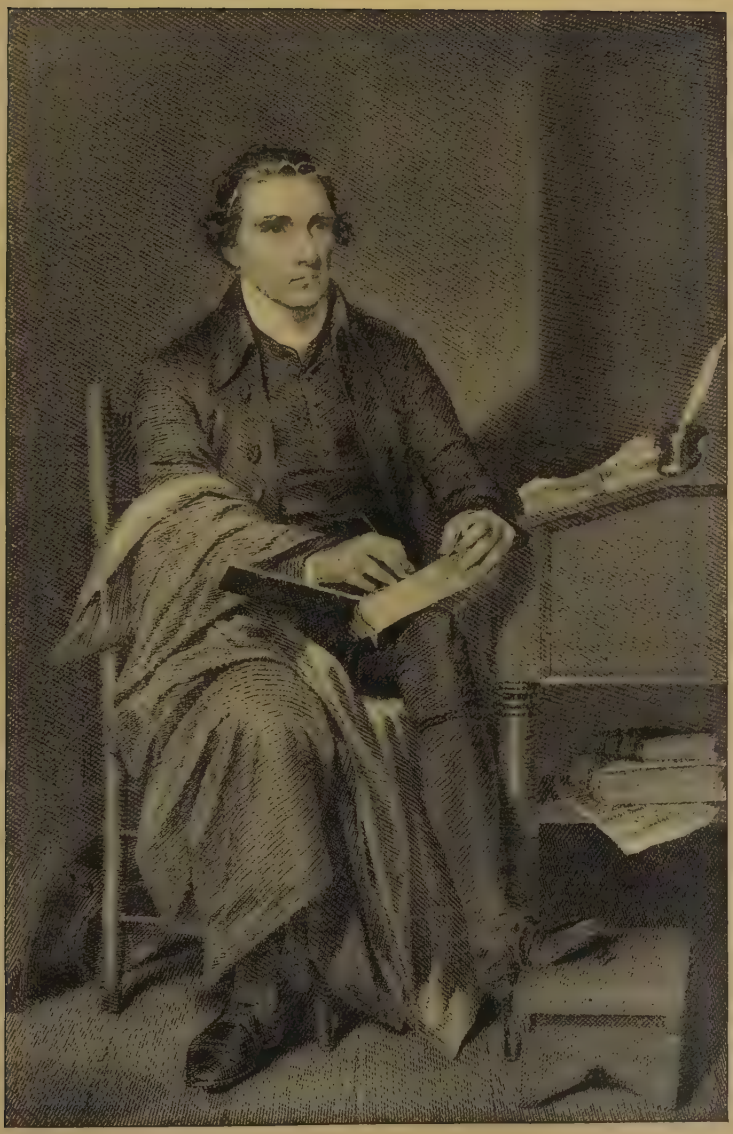
the Governor and council highly approved of the conduct of the commander, officers, and men. The House of Burgesses voted thanks to them for their bravery, and a pistole — a Spanish gold coin worth about $3.50 — was presented as a gratuity to every soldier.

The Governor, glowing with intense feelings of loyalty, but quite uneducated in the art of war, projected a new expedition against the French intruders. Colonel Washington was to complete the companies in his regiment and to hasten then as fast as possible to Colonel Innes at Wills Creek, and there uniting his forces with the troops from North Carolina and New York to cross the mountains and capture Fort Duquesne.

This project Washington earnestly opposed and it was abandoned.

Among the many striking pictures in the gallery which illustrate his life and character there is not another more expressive of his distinguishing traits. His letter on the subject of the expedition, addressed to the Hon. William Fairfax, then a member of the council, is a remarkable production. His manner is respectful but his reasoning severe. He sets forth the Governor's scheme as unadvisable and impracticable.

[Governor Dinwiddie's orders to Washington by letter of August 1, 1754, were to get his regiment completed to 300 men, and march directly to Wills Creek, to join other forces, in order to immediately march over the Alleghany mountains, and either dispossess the French of their fort or build a fort for British occupation; and to have no delay, he was to at once march with what companies he had complete, leaving to officers remaining to fill up the other companies and follow with them. What ammunition would be wanted he would send immediately. "I depend," the Governor said, "upon your former usual



PATRICK HENRY.

diligence and spirit to encourage your people to be active on this occasion;" and again, "I trust much to your diligence and despatch in getting your regiment to Wills Creek as soon as possible."

Washington assured Mr. Fairfax that it was as impracticable to get the regiment to Wills Creek as it would be to dispossess the French of their fort; both were morally impossible. The Governor had said that the plan was resolved on, "considering the state of our forces;" and Washington declares that "the state of our forces" is the most decisive reason why nothing of the kind can be done; the men at present are in circumstances so unhappy and their number is so inconsiderable compared with the number of the enemy. "Before our force can be collected," he goes on to say, "with proper stores of provisions, ammunition, working tools, etc., it would bring on a season in which horses cannot travel over the mountains on account of snows, want of forage, slipperiness of the roads, high waters, etc.; neither can men unused to that life, live there, without some other defense from the weather than tents. This I know of my own knowledge, as I was out last winter from the 1st of November till some time in January [on the journey to the Ohio, October 31, 1753–January 11, 1754]; and notwithstanding I had a good tent, was as properly prepared, and as well guarded in every respect as I could be against the weather, yet the cold was so intense that it was scarcely supportable. I believe, out of the five or six men that went with me, three of them, though they were as well clad as they could be, were rendered useless by the frost, and were obliged to be left upon the road. But the impossibility of supporting us with provisions is alone sufficient to discourage the attempt.

"I shall only add some of the difficulties which we are

particularly subjected to in the Virginia regiment. And to begin, sir, you are sensible of the sufferings our soldiers underwent in the last attempt, in a good season, to take possession of the Fork of the Alleghany and Monongahela. You also saw the disorders those sufferings produced among them at Winchester after they returned. They are still fresh in their memories, and have an irritable effect. Through the indiscretion of Mr. Spitdorph [the bearer of the Governor's orders] they got some intimation that they were again ordered out, and it immediately occasioned a general clamor, and caused six men to desert last night.

"In the next place I have orders to complete my regiment, and not a sixpence is sent for that purpose. Can it be imagined that subjects fit for this purpose, who have been so much impressed with, and alarmed at, our want of provisions (which was a main objection to enlisting before), will more readily engage now without money, than they did before with it? We were then from the 1st of February till the 1st of May, and could not complete our 300 men by 40; and the officers suffered so much by having their recruiting expenses withheld, that they unanimously refuse to engage in that duty again, without they are refunded for the past, and a sufficient allowance made them in the future.

"I have in the next place (to show the state of the regiment) sent you a report by which you will see what great deficiencies there are of men, arms, tents, kettles, screens (which was a fatal want before), bayonets, cartouch-boxes, etc., etc.

"Again, were our men ever so willing to go, for want of the proper necessaries of life, they are unable to do it. The chief part are almost naked, and scarcely a man has either shoes, stockings, or hat. These things the mer-

chants will not credit them for. The country has made no provision; they have not money themselves; and it cannot be expected that the officers will engage for them again personally, having suffered greatly already on this head; especially now, when we have all the reason in the world to believe they will desert whenever they have an opportunity. There is not a man that has a blanket to secure him from cold or wet.

"Ammunition is a material article, and that is to come from Williamsburg, or wherever the Governor can procure it * * * . The promise of those traders who offer to contract for large quantities of flour, are not to be depended upon * * * . If we depend on Indian assistance, we must have a large quantity of proper Indian goods to reward their services and make them presents. It is by this means alone that the French command such an interest among them, and that we had so few. This, with the scarcity of provisions, was proverbial; [and] would induce them to ask, when they were to join, if we meant to starve them as well as ourselves."]

As he was then little more than twenty-two years of age (August, 1754) his firm opposition to the will of his superiors might seem presumptuous, but so proper was the conduct of his procedure, and so cogent and conclusive were his reasonings, that the Governor and council yielded to the control of his master-spirit.

Yet the fire of the Governor's flaming zeal was not extinguished. As the British government granted to him £10,000 sterling, with the promise of an additional grant of the same amount and 2,000 stand of arms, and as the Burgesses voted £20,000 for the public exigencies his determination led him to form yet another scheme.

[There was however a very serious breach between the

Governor and the Burgesses, the significance of which it is important to note. Mr. Sparks says here:

"The Governor was destined to struggle with difficulties, and to have his hopes defeated. The Assembly were so perverse, as not to yield to all his demands, and he never ceased to complain of their 'republican way of thinking,' and to deplore their want of respect for the authority of his office and the prerogative of the crown. He had lately prorogued them, as a punishment for their obstinacy, and written to the ministry that the representatives of the people seemed to him infatuated, and that he was satisfied 'the progress of the French would never be effectually opposed, but by means of an act of Parliament to compel the Colonies to contribute to the common cause independently of assemblies.' When the Burgesses came together again, however, he was consoled by their good nature in granting £20,000 for the public service; and he soon received £10,000 in specie from the government in England for the same object.

Thus encouraged he formed new plans, and as the gift of £10,000 was under his control he could appropriate it as he pleased."]

He resolved to raise an army consisting of ten independent companies of 100 men each. No officer of the late Virginia regiment was to hold rank higher than a captain, and in addition to this injudicious and unjust provision every Colonial captain was to yield precedence to a captain royally commissioned. By this scheme Washington was to rank but as the captain of a company and was to be the inferior of certain officers who had been under his command. With due regard to self-respect he could not thus do violence to his sentiments as a man and a soldier. He resigned his commission.

With a view to prosecute the war the King soon after

appointed Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, his Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel Fitzhugh, at General Sharpe's instance, earnestly requested Washington to return to the army. "I am confident," said Colonel Fitzhugh, "that the general has a very great regard for you and will by every circumstance in his power make you happy. For my part I shall be extremely fond of your continuing in the service and would advise you by no means to quit it. In regard to the independent companies they will in no shape interfere with you, as you will hold your post during their continuance here, and when the regiment is reduced will have a separate duty."

In reply to this Washington wrote with great respect but in a tone of deep emotion and in terms memorably emphatic: "You make mention," said he, "of my continuing in the service and retaining my colonel's commission. The idea has filled me with surprise, for if you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself. Besides, sir, if I had time I could enumerate many good reasons that forbid all thoughts of my returning, and which to you or any other person would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well founded. I must be reduced to a very low command, and subjected to that of many who have acted as my inferior officers. In short, every captain, bearing the King's commission, every half-pay officer or others appearing with such commission, would rank before me. For these reasons I choose to submit to the loss of health which I have already sustained, and the fatigue I have undergone in our first efforts [without the reward of advancement, he means], rather than subject myself to the same inconveniences and run the risk of a second disappointment.

I shall at least have the consolation of knowing that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior enemy; that I have hitherto stood the heat and brunt of the day, and escaped untouched in time of extreme danger; and that I have the thanks of my country for the services I have rendered it."*

So fully was he aware of disingenuousness and unfair dealing in the concocting of the Governor's extraordinary scheme of independent companies by which Colonial superior officers were to be set aside, regardless of the services which they had rendered, and of all conventionalities of military life, that he added in the same letter to Colonel Fitzhugh, "The information I have received shall not sleep in silence that those peremptory orders from home, which you say could not be dispensed with, for reducing the regiment into independent companies, were generated and hatched at Wills Creek. Ingenuous treatment and plain dealing I at least expected. It is to be hoped the project will answer; it shall meet with my acquiescence in everything except personal services. I herewith enclose Gov. Sharpe's letter, which I beg you will return to him, with my acknowledgments for the favor he intended me. Assure him, sir, as you truly may, of my reluctance to quit the service, and of the pleasure I should have received in attending his fortunes. Also inform him, that it was to obey the call of honor, and the advice of my friends, that I declined it, and not to gratify any desire I had to leave the military line. My inclinations are strongly bent to arms."†

* Letter to Col. William Fitzhugh, November 15, 1754.

† The "peremptory orders from home" were a fiction, as was afterward proved.

The step which Washington took in resigning his commission is by no means to be regarded as an impulse of extreme sensitiveness, or of wounded pride. In the measure adopted by the Governor, there was involved á principle which could not be practically sanctioned by the Colonies, without a dereliction of self-respect, as well as a humiliating indifference to the claims of common justice and of honor.

Washington's suspicion of unfairness was also the more manifest as the King's order did not arrive until the following spring. But the language of this order exhibited then, in a stronger light than ever, the odiousness as well as unreasonableness of the required humiliation. "All troops," says the order, "serving by commission signed by us, or by our general commanding in chief in North America, shall take rank before all troops which may serve by commission from any of the Governors, Lieutenant or Deputy Governors, or President for the time being. And it is our further pleasure that the general and field officers of the provincial troops shall have no rank with the general and field officers who serve by commission from us; but that all captains and other inferior officers of our forces, who are or may be employed in North America, are on all detachments, courts-martial, and other duty wherein they may be joined with officers serving by commission from the Governors, Lieutenant or Deputy Governors, or President for the time being of the said provinces, to command and take post of the said provincial officers of the like rank, though the commissions of the said provincial officers of like rank should be of elder date."*

[As Sharpe, the Governor of Maryland, had been appointed "general commanding-in-chief," the indignity of

* Order of the King, dated St. James's, November 12, 1754.

the treatment of Washington appointed by the Governor of Virginia, the "Dominion" Colony, was greater than if the King's commander-in-chief had been an eminent soldier. The animus of the order of the King was that of thoroughly rascal malignity toward colonials tainted with "republican" feeling, such as Dinwiddie's complaints had referred to.]

The natural consequence of such an expression of royal authority was, as might have been expected, the alienation of many a good and true colonist's loyal feeling. And in the American heart there was thus fostered more and more, by innumerable temptations to jealousy, and provocations to an indignant sense of injustice and wrong, that deep, prevailing, and powerful emotion which eventually drove the Colonies, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions," to assert their rights and declare their national independence.

[An incident of Washington's experience at this time was the refusal of Dinwiddie to execute his engagement, made at the surrender of Fort Necessity, for the return to the French of the prisoners taken in the Jumonville affair. Dinwiddie was stupid (in the English sense of that word), not only failing to see, but resolute against seeing, while Washington ever had the quick vision of genius and determination not less quick to act upon all the light he had. Dinwiddie insisted on disregarding the engagement made by Washington, because of captures which the French had made at a later date. The French were holding Captains Stobo and Vanbraam, as hostages, for the return of the two French officers, Drouillon and La Force, with two cadets and about twenty private soldiers. Dinwiddie sent proposals to the French for the return of Drouillon and the two cadets in exchange for Stobo

and Vanbraam; and was refused. La Force was kept in close prison, while Drouillon and the two cadets were allowed to go at large, and when Washington learned this his protest to Dinwiddie was as indignant as it was honorable, but it was of no avail. The result was serious to Stobo and Vanbraam, thrust into prison in Quebec, although the former managed to escape, while the latter was shipped to Europe and never returned to Virginia.]

CHAPTER IV.

DEFENSE OF THE COLONIES.

1754, 1755.

THE same year that Washington was occupied at the Great Meadows resisting French encroachments there was held at Albany a convention of commissioners, convened (June 19, 1754) by order of the British Board of Trade, with a view to conciliate and secure as allies of Great Britain the most powerful of the Indian tribes, the Six Nations.

These were New York tribes of the Iroquois and consisted of the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, all of whom spoke the same language. An ancient confederacy of the first five tribes was formed about the middle of the sixteenth century; and the Tuscaroras, driven from North Carolina in 1714, joined at that period their Iroquois brothers in New York. These six kindred nations thus leagued were very formidable. And as they were implacable enemies of the Algonquin allies of the French, it was now deemed important to secure their friendship and co-operation on the eve of another war with France. It was accordingly proposed to make presents to them and effect the renewal of an existing treaty.

The Colonies represented in the convention were those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Maryland. The Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia did not deem it advisable to send dele-

gates, preferring to take an independent, and as he thought, more expeditious course; and indulging the thought that he could effect, in his own way, "a peace between the northern and southern Indians and a strict alliance between them and all British subjects on the Continent." It was the vain and illusive hope of a mind unwisely sanguine.

The delegates, as was proposed, held conferences with the Indians and distributed among them the numerous and gaudy presents which the several Colonies provided. But they received from the eloquent lips of the Mohawk sachem Hendrick a cutting rebuke for the prevailing neglect of warlike defenses. "It is your fault, brethren," said he, "that we are not strengthened by conquest. We would have gone and taken Crown Point but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told that it was too late, and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this you burnt your own fort at Saratoga and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal. Look around your country and see: you have no fortifications about you — no, not even to this city. It is but one step from Canada hither and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors. You are desirous that we should open our minds and our hearts to you. Look at the French! They are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women; bare and open, without any fortifications."

The subject of devising a plan of colonial union and confederation for security and defense was submitted to the convention. The delegates unanimously agreed that such a measure was "absolutely necessary," and a committee was appointed to receive proposed schemes and to digest a plan.

A distinguished pre-eminence in the convention was now won by a delegate from Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin,

the committee having selected and approved the plan which he devised and having recommended its adoption.

The whole number of delegates appointed was twenty-five, every one of whom was in attendance.* And there were among them a number of the master-spirits of the times — men who subsequently exerted a memorable influence in the direction of political affairs. But among them all there was not one other around whom clustered destinies so remarkable as those which awaited the career of Franklin. With his manly presence, his large frame, his ample forehead, and his expressive countenance, mingling blandness with firmness, his eye sparkling with intelligence, and his lip curved with good-nature, he ever was a conspicuous object of attraction and kind interest.

And his personal history possessed a charm from its pleasing illustration of the true secret of success in life.

He had risen from poverty and obscurity in his native city of Boston to great prominence among the politicians of Pennsylvania and the literary and scientific men of his time. And he had accomplished this by dint of his extraordinary force of character. His forefathers were Englishmen, mechanics, residing in the village of Ecton, Northamptonshire. All his brothers were put to trades in Boston. His father, a man of strong mind and solid

* The delegates were: Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wibird, Meshech Weare, and Henry Sherburne, of New Hampshire; Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington, of Massachusetts; William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, and Elisha Williams, of Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins and Martin Howard, of Rhode Island; James Delancey, Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, and William Smith, of New York; John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Tasker and Abraham Barnes, of Maryland.

judgment, who migrated to America in the year 1685, was a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; and Benjamin, the youngest of his sons, was employed in cutting candle-wicks, filling molds, attending shop, and going on errands. But the boy's active mind could not long brook drudgery like this. He was apprenticed to his brother James, a printer. He now began to indulge his passion for literature. He wrote ballads and songs, which his brother printed, and which he was sent about the town to sell.

To a newspaper published by his brother, and called The New England Courant, Benjamin secretly contributed articles which were well received. As an author, and very soon himself a printer and editor, he now rose rapidly in favor with the public.

He removed to Philadelphia. By industry, thrift, and stern integrity of character he accumulated property. He took a lively interest in the establishment of literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions, and in providing a system of military discipline for Pennsylvania. He made important discoveries in science, especially in relation to electricity and lightning, and attracted the attention of European savants.

He was chosen clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia, and was elected a member of the Provincial Legislature. He now gave his thoughts more and more to public affairs. In the year 1753 he was appointed Postmaster-General of America, and the next year he was one of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the Albany Convention, where we now find him with his plan of a colonial union.

He was not a novice as a politician and legislator. The vital importance of a union of the Colonies he had already urged in a spirited article published in his paper, The Pennsylvania Gazette. To this article he appended, in

his favorite style of speaking by symbols, a wood cut which became a very popular device in the Revolutionary War — representing a snake in separate parts, the parts designated by the initial letters of the names of the respective Colonies, with a motto in large capitals, "*JOIN OR DIE.*"

The plan proposed a general government to be administered by a governor-general appointed and supported by the King; and a council chosen by the Colonial Assemblies, for ordering all Indian treaties, and for the defense, support, increase, and extension of the Colonies — the plan to receive the sanction of an act of Parliament. "The Colonies so united," he justly remarks, "would have been sufficiently strong to defend themselves. There would then have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes.

> 'Look round the habitable world, how few
> Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue.'"*

Franklin's plan, with a few modifications, was adopted by the convention; and there were appended to it reasons and motives for each article. But, on its being submitted to the Assemblies, it was rejected by them all on the ground of its savoring too much of royal prerogative. And when it was received in England by the Board of Trade, they thought, on the other hand, that it was quite too deeply tinctured with popular privilege. It was therefore not even submitted to the notice of the King.

* Franklin's "Autobiography," in his Works, vol. I, ch. x, p. 178.

The proposal that the united Colonies should be their own defenders, without the aid of the mother country, was viewed with suspicion and jealousy. They would thus be led, it was supposed, to indulge, unduly, feelings of self-importance and of confidence in their own strength, and perhaps, as was apprehended, grow quite too military.

There was devised therefore a new mode of accomplishing the various objects had in view. This was a recourse to occasional meetings of the Governors, attended by one or two members of their respective councils — to concert measures, erect forts, and raise troops — and to be supplied with means derived from a tax on the Colonies by act of Parliament.

Thus the cardinal principle on which turned the destiny of a mighty empire in the new world was distinctly set forth at that time. But from its first promulgation to the period of our national independence, the voice of the people loudly and perseveringly condemned it, refusing to submit to any measure whatever by which their liberties would be impaired by *taxation without representation.*

It is a coincidence worthy of being noted that not only the same year, but the same month, that dates Washington's engagement in his first important military operations, by which he was prepared for the part he was to take in our War of the Revolution, Franklin was busied with his plan, which was the embryo of our national confederation and our union of States. It was on the 4th day of July, 1754, that Washington surrendered Fort Necessity, and that Franklin's plan was considered; and on the 4th day of July, 1776, after an interval of just twenty-two years, Washington was at the head of the Army of the United States of America, and Franklin was signing the Declaration of American Independence!

Franklin was twenty-six years older than Washington,

being born January 6, 1706, old style; and at the time of the Albany Convention he was at the age of forty-eight.

Another scheme proposed by him the same year, with a view to the security and defense of the Colonies on the Atlantic border, was the proposal to found two strong western colonies.

With his sagacious mind he foresaw and confidently predicted what would inevitably result from the occupation of the region which the western colonies were to occupy. "The great country," said he, "back of the Appalachian mountains, on both sides of the Ohio, and between that river and the lakes, is now well known, both to the English and French, to be one of the finest in North America for the extreme richness and fertility of the land; the healthy temperature of the air and mildness of the climate; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers many hundred leagues around.

"From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly — perhaps in less than another century — become a populous and powerful dominion, and a great accession of power either to England or France."*

It was his scheme therefore to anticipate, frustrate, and effectually control the ambitious purposes of the French Government and at the same time to secure the friendship and trade of all the neighboring powerful Indian tribes.

It was a noble scheme. But the policy of Great Britain, dictated by an undue regard to the interests of trade and commerce, was to occupy the Atlantic coast and not the interior of the country; and the suspicion and jealousy

* Works of Franklin, vol. III, p. 70.

which frowned upon the Albany plan of union assumed a more decided expression against inland settlements.

The British Government concluded to take into its own hands the work of repelling and chastising French intruders, and to accomplish this neither by a colonial union nor by inland settlements. It resolved however to adopt prompt and vigorous measures for maintaining its claim to the Ohio lands. The French, on the other hand, were just as resolute in asserting prior claims. The settlement on the Ohio being calculated, as they thought, to despoil them of the harvest of their Indian trade, to break the chain of their communication between Canada and Louisiana, and to nip the flattering promise of their ambitious projects, the Governor of Canada had written to the Governors of New York and Pennsylvania, threatening to seize all British subjects who encroached upon the Indian trade.

In the year 1753 the French seized certain British traders found among the Miamis and Piankeshaws, or, as they were called by the English, Twightwees. Upon this the Twightwees, allies of Great Britain, seized several French traders and sent them to Pennsylvania as reprisals; but at the same time they expressed great dissatisfaction at the Ohio Company's unceremonious settlement among them without permission, and upon lands not purchased. The exclusive right also which the company claimed excited the jealousy and caused the opposition of private traders, who were not inactive in fanning the flame of dissatisfaction which had already been kindled among the Indian tribes.

An impending conflict with France, a threatened rupture with the Twightwees, the claims of the Ohio Company, and the rights of Indian trade were subjects which demanded the immediate attention of the Governor of

Virginia, whose jurisdiction then extended to the Ohio and the Twightwee country.

The proceedings of the French in dispossessing Captain Trent of his post at the forks of the Ohio, and themselves building a fort there, and in compelling Colonel Washington to surrender Fort Necessity, greatly added to the excitement which the subject created in the mother country.

[The British ambassador at Paris was instructed to complain of the proceedings as in violation of the peace, and the French court protested that no violation was intended.

"Their ambassador at the court of St. James, gave the same assurances. In the meantime however French ships were fitted out, and troops embarked, to carry out the schemes of the government in America. So profound was the dissimulation of the court of Versailles, that even their own ambassador is said to have been kept in ignorance of their real designs, and of the hostile game they were playing, while he was exerting himself in good faith to lull the suspicions of England, and maintain international peace. When his eyes however were opened, he returned indignantly to France, and upbraided the cabinet with the duplicity of which he had been made the unconscious instrument.

"The British Government now prepared for military operations in America; none of them professedly aggressive, but rather to resist and counteract aggressions. A plan of campaign was devised for 1755, having four objects.

"To eject the French from lands which they held unjustly, in the province of Nova Scotia.

"To dislodge them from a fortress which they had erected at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, within what was claimed as British territory.

"To dispossess them of the fort which they had constructed at Niagara, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

"To drive them from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and recover the valley of the Ohio."*]

The Government voted a million of pounds sterling for the defense of the American Colonies. Admiral Boscawen sailed with a fleet to the banks of Newfoundland. Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral Holborne, and Admiral Byng also took the sea with three squadrons. And British cruisers and privateers made fearful havoc with the French West India trade. During the year (1755), 300 French merchant ships and 8,000 French seamen were captured. On the American lakes also and on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, there was waged a desultory but fearfully afflictive warfare, accompanied with all the atrocity of savage massacres.

The arrangements for a campaign against the French in America were committed to Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, surviving son of the King, and at that time chief manager of British military operations.

Holding a commission in the Guards, and being well acquainted with their thorough discipline, he chose, as the major-general for the proposed expedition, an officer for forty years connected with them and celebrated as a disciplinarian and tactician. The Duke, stern, harsh, and tyrannous, was the object of general fear and hatred. But discipline was his boast — uncompromising discipline.

He found an officer after his own heart in Major-General Edward Braddock, who had served under him in Scotland, in his expedition against the Pretender, Charles Edward, in 1746. Braddock was accordingly appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in

* Irving, vol. I, p. 189.

America. The Duke then conveyed to him a set of instructions on the conduct of his expedition, and repeatedly cautioned him, orally and in writing, to beware of an ambuscade.

Flushed with the hope of making short work with the French and their savage allies, General Braddock sailed from Cork, in Ireland, on the 14th day of January (1755), with two regiments of foot, consisting each of 500 British regulars, under Colonel Dunbar and Col. Sir Peter Halkett, officers of high repute for ability and experience.

[Previous to Braddock's arrival, Lieut.-Col. Sir John St. Clair, deputy quartermaster-general, had come from England, and made a tour of inspection in company with Governor Sharpe, of Maryland. The sight of the mountain wilderness where Washington's operations had been conducted filled him with dismay; and he sent word to the Governor of Pennsylvania from Wills Creek, on the border beyond which began the pathless forest, that there could be no campaign until a road should be cut, or repaired where rudely cut, toward the destination of the expedition, and at the same time another put in good condition for bringing supplies from Philadelphia. The Governor of Pennsylvania could command no money, except with the good-will of an Assembly which he described as "a set of men quite unacquainted with every kind of military service, and exceedingly unwilling to part with money upon any terms." It was with difficulty that he secured the appointment of commissioners to make the necessary exploration, and survey and lay out the proper roads. Sir John St. Clair, after completing his tour of inspection, traveled by canoe 200 miles down Wills Creek and the Potomac to Alexandria, where Braddock made his headquarters, where the troops disembarked and encamped, and where colonial levies were to repair. It was but nine

miles from Mount Vernon. The levies for augmenting the two British regiments from 500 to 700 each were selected by Sir John St. Clair from Virginia companies recently raised, and after being supplied with their uniforms were marched to Winchester for their arms, in charge of a British ensign under orders from Braddock "to make them as like soldiers as possible."]

Before the end of February Braddock reached Virginia (February 20, 1755); and soon after the transports which carried the troops arrived at Alexandria; the squadron, under Commodore Keppel, including also two ships of war.

Never before had such an army been seen in the Colonies. Their appearance and movements — the perfection of military discipline — created universal admiration and inspired very great confidence in the triumphant issue of the expedition. All colonial jealousies and sectional disagreements were merged in the general and heart-cheering sentiment that the long-subsisting and vexatious altercations with the French and their savage allies were about to be effectually terminated, to the future peace and comfort of His Majesty's loyal subjects in America. So great was the confidence reposed in the skill and prowess of British regulars.

CHAPTER V.

WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF THE MONONGAHELA.

1754, 1755.

HAVING resigned his commission, Washington was without employment as a military man. But there was slumbering in his bosom many a high resolve, which needed only a suitable occasion for its indulgence. And he felt instinctively that it was not yet the hour for his repose from public duty. He spoke of his "reluctance to quit the service," and said, "My inclinations are strongly bent to arms."* Ill at ease in his retirement, he was ready therefore to meet with cheerfulness the summons which soon called him once more to the camp.

Not long after Braddock's arrival in Virginia, he sought out Washington, well known to him by fame; he learned the story of his retirement from the service; he heartily commended his spirited conduct on the occasion; and he invited him to become one of his aids, retaining his rank as colonel, and acting as a volunteer. This proposition fully met the views and wishes of Washington. He promptly accepted Braddock's invitation, and he became a member of the general's military family.

Captain Robert Orme, one of the aids of Braddock, had written to Washington in these words:

* Letter to Colonel Fitzhugh, November 15, 1754.

WILLIAMSBURG, *March 2*, 1755.

SIR.— The general having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness which you thought might arise from the regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you that he will be very glad of your company *in his family*, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated. I shall think myself very happy, to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ROBERT ORME,
Aide-de-Camp.

[In reply to Braddock's invitation, Washington wrote to Orme letters of March 15, 1755, and of April 2, in which these expressions occur:

" I wish earnestly to attain some knowledge in the military profession, and, believing a more favorable opportunity cannot offer than to serve under a gentleman of General Braddock's abilities and experience, it does not a little contribute to influence my choice. The only bar which can check me in the pursuit of this object is the inconveniences that must necessarily result from some proceedings which happened a little before the General's arrival, and which, in some measure, had abated the ardor of my desires, and determined me to lead a life of retirement, into which I was just entering at no small expense when your favor was presented to me. I shall do myself the honor of waiting upon his Excellency as soon as I hear of his arrival at Alexandria. I should have embraced this opportunity of writing to him had I not recently addressed a congratulatory letter to him on his safe arrival in this country.

"You do me a singular favor in proposing an acquaintance. It cannot but be attended with the most flattering prospects of intimacy on my part, as you may already perceive by the familiarity and freedom with which I now enter upon this correspondence.

"I find myself much embarrassed with my affairs [April 2d], having no person in whom I can confide, to entrust the management of them with. Notwithstanding, I am determined to do myself the honor of accompanying you, upon this proviso, that the General will be kind enough to permit my return as soon as the active part of the campaign is at an end, if it is desired [*i. e.*, if he should desire it]; or, if there should be a space of inaction, long enough to admit a visit to my home, that I may be indulged in coming to it. I need not add how much I should be obliged by joining you at Wills Creek, instead of doing it at an earlier period and place. These things will not, I hope, be thought unreasonable, when it is considered how unprepared I am at present to quit a family and an estate I was just about to settle, and which is in the utmost confusion."

To John Robinson, at that time and for many years Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses and Colonial Treasurer, Washington wrote, April 20, 1755:

"The sole motive which invites me to the field is the laudable desire of serving my country, and not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans. * * * I expect to be a considerable loser in my private affairs by going. It is true I have been importuned to make this campaign by General Braddock, conceiving, I suppose, that the small knowledge I have had an opportunity of acquiring of the country, Indians, etc., was worthy of his notice, and might be useful to him in the progress of his expedition."

The matter of 50 odd pounds which he had made good upon a loss which occurred, Washington touches upon, in view of a proposal by the chairman of the military committee that he apply to be reimbursed, and further says:

"I should not have asked this had it not proposed, and had I not been so considerable a loser in the service, in valuable papers, clothing, horses and several other things, some of which, and of no inconsiderable value, I carried out entirely for the public use. I had unfortunately got my baggage from Wills Creek but a few days before the engagement, in which I also had a valuable servant wounded, who died soon after."

To William Byrd Washington wrote, also on the 20th of April, of Braddock's offer, and said of this, "a circumstance which will ease me of expenses that otherwise must had accrued in furnishing stores, camp equipage, etc., whereas the cost will now be easy (comparatively), as baggage, horses, tents, and some other necessaries, will constitute the whole of the charge. Yet to have a family just settling, and in the confusion and disorder mine is in at present, is not a pleasing thing and may be hurtful. But be this as it may, it shall be no hindrance to my making *this* campaign."]

A few days after the general held a meeting at his headquarters in Alexandria with six of the colonial Governors: Dinwiddie, of Virginia; Delancey, of New York; Sharpe, of Maryland; Dobbs, of North Carolina; Shirley, of Massachusetts; and Morris, of Pennsylvania. At this meeting a plan for concert in action was devised. Braddock was to proceed against Fort Duquesne, Shirley against Niagara, and Sir William Johnson against Crown Point. The subjects discussed and the arrangements made by the Commander-in-Chief and the council of Governors possessed a momentous interest.

At this meeting Washington was by invitation present. He was introduced to the Governors, and they accorded to him marked expressions of esteem. Referring to the occasion he says:

"I have had the honor to be introduced to several Governors and of being well received by them, especially Mr. Shirley, whose character and appearance have perfectly charmed me. I think his every word and action discover in him the gentleman and politician. I heartily wish the same unanimity may prevail among us as appeared to exist between him and his Assembly when they, to expedite the business and to forward his journey hither, sat till 11 and 12 o'clock every night."*

Braddock proceeded on his way toward Wills Creek, where the several divisions of his troops which had pursued different routes, afterward united, and, including the provincials, formed an army of 2,000 men.

Washington, detained at home for a few days by private duties there, overtook the general at Fredericktown, Maryland, and was now with him. But the army, to the annoyance and vexation of Braddock, was at a stand. Contracts for provisions and for horses and baggage-wagons were unfulfilled, and to advance without these was deemed utterly impracticable.

Braddock was exasperated. He proposed to send an armed force into the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, Pennsylvania, "to seize as many of the best carriages and horses as should be wanted, and to compel as many persons into the service as would be necessary to drive and take care of them." In this emergency suitable measures of relief were devised by Franklin. "Our Assembly," says he, "apprehending, from some information,

* Letter to William Fairfax, April 23, 1755.

that the general had received violent prejudices against them as averse to the service, wished me to wait upon him, not as from them, but as Postmaster-General, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty the dispatches between him and the Governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence, and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey.

"We found the general at Fredericktown waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices by the information of what the Assembly had before his arrival actually done and were still willing to do to facilitate operations. When I was about to depart the returns of the wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of these were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surprised; declared the expedition was at an end, being impossible; and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores and baggage, not less than 150 wagons being necessary.

"I happened to say I thought it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The general eagerly laid hold of my words and said, 'Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us, and I beg you to undertake it.' I asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons; and I was desired to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This

I did and they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions were prepared immediately."

The energy and personal influence of Franklin soon produced the most cheering results. He published an advertisement and an address to the inhabitants of the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, appealing to their self-interest and to their loyalty. "I received from the general," says he, "about £800 to be disbursed in advance money to the wagon-owners, but that sum being insufficient I advanced upward of £200 more; and in two weeks the 150 wagons, with 259 carrying-horses were on their way to the camp." "The owners however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, nor what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance which I accordingly gave them."*

But for the timely services thus rendered by Franklin disastrous consequences must inevitably have ensued from the general's exasperation and rashness.

He was not devoid of noble sentiments and generous impulses, but his temper and conduct afforded ample proof that he was very deficient in some of the essential qualities upon which depend the influence and success of a military chief.

Washington saw this and in one of his letters† he says: "The general, from frequent breaches of contract, has lost all patience; and for want of that temper and moderation which should be used by a man of sense upon these occasions, will, I fear, represent us in a light we little deserve; for instead of blaming the individuals, as he ought, he charges all his disappointments to public supineness and looks upon the country I believe as void of honor and

* Franklin's "Autobiography" in his Works, vol. I, ch. x, pp. 182, 183, 187.

† Letter to William Fairfax, June 7, 1755.

honesty. We have frequent disputes on this head which are maintained with warmth on both sides, especially on his, as he is incapable of arguing without it, or giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense."

William Shirley, son of the Governor, was Braddock's secretary. In a letter to Governor Morris he says: "We have a general most judiciously chosen for being disqualified for the service he is employed in in almost every respect."*

He was haughty, self-conceited, self-willed, imperious, and obstinate. He was also excessively severe. And he greatly lacked the prudence and caution which, in such a warfare as he was about to wage, were absolutely essential to his success. In the temper of his patron, the Duke of Cumberland, who refused to accept the loyal offers of the Scotch lowland lords before the battle of Culloden, Braddock now spurned the thought of employing Indian allies; and regardless of the dangers against which he had been cautioned he trusted implicitly to the prowess of his brave troops.

"He was, I think, a brave man," says Franklin, "and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with 100 of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides and scouts if he had treated them kindly, but he slighted and neglected them and they gradually left him.

"In conversation with him one day he was giving me

* Colonial Records, vol. VI, p. 405.

some account of his intended progress. 'After taking Fort Duquesne,' said he, 'I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days, and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.' Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of 1,500 French who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say: 'To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified and assisted with a strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from the ambuscades of the Indians who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other.'

"He smiled at my ignorance and replied: 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.'"*

[May 6th Washington wrote to his younger brother, John A. Washington:

"I hope you will have frequent opportunities to particularize the state of my affairs, which will administer much satisfaction to a person in my situation."

* Franklin's "Autobiography" in his Works, vol. I, ch. x, pp. 189, 190.

The younger brother evidently was left in charge at Mt. Vernon. May 25th Washington wrote again:

"I should be glad to hear that you live in perfect harmony and good fellowship with the family at Belvoir, as it is in their power to be very serviceable to us, as young beginners. I would advise your visiting there often, as one step towards it; the rest, if any more is necessary, your own good sense will sufficiently dictate,— for to that family I am under many obligations, particularly to the old gentleman."

The "young beginners" reference is to the getting under way with the care of the Mt. Vernon estate.

In a postscript to the same letter Washington appears cherishing political ambition, to the extent of wishing to be elected to the House of Burgesses. Thus he writes to his brother John:

"As I understand the county of Fairfax is to be divided, and that Mr. Alexander intends to decline serving in it, I should be glad if you could come at Colonel Fairfax's intentions, and let me know whether he purposes to offer himself as a candidate. If he does not, I should be glad to take a poll, if I thought my chance tolerably good. Major Carlyle mentioned it to me in Williamsburgh in a bantering way, and asked how I would like it, saying, at the same time, he did not know but they might send me, for one or t'other of the counties, when I might know nothing of the matter. I must confess I should like to go for either in that manner, but more particularly for Fairfax, as I am a resident there. I should be glad if you could discover Major Carlyle's real sentiments on this head; also those of Mr. Dalton, Ramsay, Mason, etc., which I hope and think you may do without disclosing much of *mine*, as I know your own good sense can furnish you with contrivances. If you should attempt any-

thing in this matter, pray let me know by the first opportunity how you have succeeded in it, and how those gentlemen stand affected. If they seem inclinable to promote my interest, and things should be drawing to a crisis, you then may declare my intentions, and beg their assistance. If, on the contrary, you find them more inclined to favor some other, I would have the affair entirely dropped. The Revd. Mr. Green's and Capt. McCarty's interests in this matter would be of consequence, and I should be glad if you could *sound* their pulse upon that occasion. Conduct the whole, 'till you are satisfied of the sentiments of those I have mentioned, with an air of unconcern; after that you may regulate your conduct according to circumstances. Capt. West, the present Burgess, and our friend Jack West, could also be serviceable, if they had a mind to assist the interest of, Dear Jack, Your loving brother."]

The army provided with wagons, horses, and every necessary supply now moved on. But the month of June (1755) had already arrived. And so many and great delays occurred, chiefly from rough roads, that the general indulged serious doubts of the feasibility of reaching the French fort before the close of the season. He consulted privately with Washington, who advised him to proceed. " I urged him in the warmest terms I was able," says Washington, " to push forward, if he even did it with a small but chosen band, with such artillery and light stores as were necessary; leaving the heavy artillery, baggage, and the like with the rear division of the army, to follow by slow and easy marches, which they might do safely while we were advanced in front. As one reason to support this opinion, I urged, that if we could credit our intelligence, the French were weak at the Fork at present, but hourly expected reinforcements which, to my certain knowledge,

BOSTON MASSACRE.

could not arrive with provisions or any supplies during the continuance of the drought, as the Buffalo river, down which was their only communication to Venango, must be as dry as we now found the great crossing of the Youghiogheny, which may be passed dryshod."*

In a council of war, held on the occasion, the advice of Washington prevailed. The general with 1,200 men, carrying a small supply of necessary stores and a few pieces of light artillery, moved forward, and Colonel Dunbar with 600 men and the heavy baggage followed by slow marches.

Washington accompanied the general in the advanced corps. But when four days had passed and the general with his corps had reached a spot but nineteen miles from the Little Meadows a painful incident occurred (June 14, 1755) which greatly distressed the mind of Washington, yet served to exhibit in a strong light his energy and determination

When the army had advanced about ten miles from Wills Creek he was seized with a violent fever by which he was prostrated. Yet he continued with the army. Too feeble to ride on horseback he was carried in a covered wagon until his physician advised, and the general required, that he should not continue with the advanced division. To this he yielded his reluctant consent on the absolute condition that before the army's reaching the French fort arrangements should be made for his rejoining it. "I had," says he, "the general's word of honor, pledged in the most solemn manner, that I should be brought up before he arrived at Fort Duquesne."*

Attended by a small guard and awaiting the arrival of Colonel Dunbar with the rear army, he continued for some days in a state of extreme debility. Colonel Dunbar's

* Letter to John A. Washington, June 28, 1755.

division did not reach him for eight days. His fever moderated at this time, but his weakness, as he himself admitted, was excessive.

[Of this Washington said in a letter of June 28, 1755: "On the 14th instant I was seized with violent fevers and pains in my head, which continued without intermission 'till the 23d following, when I was relieved, by the General's absolutely ordering the physicians to give me Dr. James's powders (one of the most excellent medicines in the world), for it gave me immediate ease, and removed my fevers and other complaints in four days time. My illness was too violent to suffer me to ride; therefore I was indebted to a covered wagon for some part of my transportation; but even in this I could not continue far, for the jolting was so great. I was left upon the road, with a guard and necessaries, to wait the arrival of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, which was two days' march behind us, the General giving me his word of honor, that I should be brought up before he reached the French fort. This *promise*, and the doctor's *threats* that, if I persevered in my attempts to get on, in the condition I was, my life would be endangered, determined me to halt for the above detachment."

It was on the 19th (June), when he had been ill five days, that the advance of Braddock with part of the army began, while Dunbar "with the residue of the two regiments, some independent companies (of colonial troops), most of the women, and in short everything not absolutely necessary," remained behind. Washington says of the advance: "We set out with less than 30 carriages (including those that transported the ammunition for the howitzers, twelve-pounders, and six-pounders, etc.), and all of them strongly horsed; which was a prospect that conveyed infinite delight to my mind, though I was ex-

cessively ill at the time. But this prospect was soon clouded, and my hopes brought very low indeed, when I found that instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days getting twelve miles.

"At this camp I was left by the doctor's advice, and the General's absolute orders, without which I should not have been prevailed upon to remain behind; as I then imagined, and now believe, I shall find it no easy matter to join my own corps again, which is 25 miles advanced before us.

"I have been now six days with Colonel Dunbar's corps, who are in a miserable condition for want of horses, not having enough for their wagons; so that the only method he has of proceeding, is to march with as many wagons as those will draw, and then halt till the remainder are brought up with the same horses, which requires two days more; and shortly, I believe, he will not be able to stir at all.

"My strength will not admit me to say more, though I have not said half what I intended concerning our affairs here. Business I shall not think of, but depend solely upon your management of all my affairs, not doubting but that they will be well conducted."

The next paragraph is an interesting indulgence in genial sarcasm:

"You may thank my friends for the letters I have received from them, which, tell them has not been *one* from *any mortal* since I left Fairfax, except yourself and Mr. Dalton. It is a specimen of their regard and kindness which I should endeavor to acknowledge and thank them for, was I able and *suffered* to *write*."

"July 2nd.— We are advanced almost as far as the Great Meadows, and I shall set out tomorrow morning

for my own corps, with an escort of 100 men, which is to guard some provisions up, so that my fears and doubts on that head are now removed."

June 30, Washington had written to Robert Orme, one of Braddock's aides: "I came to this camp on Thursday last, with the rear of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, and should have continued on with his front today, but was prevented by rain. My fevers are very moderate, and, I hope, near terminating; when I shall have nothing to encounter but weakness which is excessive, and the difficulty of getting to you, arising therefrom; but this I would not miss doing, before you reach Duquesne, for five hundred pounds. However, I have no doubt now of doing this, as I am moving on slowly, and the General has given me his word of honor, in the most solemn manner, that it shall be effected. The doctor thinks it imprudent for me to use much exercise for two or three days."]

One of the general's aides-de-camp, Capt. Roger Morris, had written to him from the great crossing of the Youghiogheny, "I am desired by the general to let you know that he marches to-morrow and next day, but that he shall halt at the Meadows two or three days. It is the desire of every individual in the family, and the general's positive commands to you, not to stir but by the advice of the person under whose care you are till you are better, which we all hope will be very soon." On the 30th day of June he said, in a letter to Captain Orme, one of the general's aides: "As the doctor thinks it imprudent for me to use much exercise for two or three days my movements will be retarded."* But he husbanded his strength; he took advantage of every moment possible for him to proceed; when prevented by rain from continuing with the

* Letter to John A. Washington, June 28, 1755.

front of Colonel Dunbar's detachment he joined the rear, yet he moved onward.

It was with great effort and with pain that he persevered in his purpose; but he at length succeeded, to his own great satisfaction and to the surprise of the general, in reaching the advanced detachment (July 8, 1755) near the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers, within fifteen miles of the French fort. "On the 8th day of July," says he, in a memorandum, "I rejoined in a covered wagon the advanced division of the army under the immediate command of the general. On the 9th I attended him on horseback, though very low and weak."

This however was an eventful day long to be remembered, which, while it veiled others with the gloom of misfortune and calamity, shed around him and his exploits the brightness of a glorious halo.

[In the memorandum just quoted Washington added to the above: "On this day he was attacked, and defeated, by a party of French and Indians, adjudged not to exceed 300. When all hope of rallying the dismayed troops, and recovering the ground, was expired (our provisions and stores being given up) I was ordered to Dunbar's camp."]

Early in the morning the army advanced in good health and high spirits, and in perfect military order, on the north bank of the majestic Monongahela. To reach the French fort it was necessary first to ford the river and march for some distance on its south bank; then to return to the north bank by fording the stream again. This the well-disciplined troops successfully accomplished. And the manner of their doing it was so truly admirable that Washington, who beheld the scene with intense interest, often recurred to it with the deepest emotion.

After crossing to the northern margin of the river, ten miles from the fort, an advanced column of the troops

marched over a plain and up an ascent between two ravines. But the remaining columns had scarcely forded the stream when on a sudden heavy discharges of musketry were heard on the front and on the right flank of the advanced party. The hostile forces, consisting of French troops and of Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a destructive fire, deliberately singling out their victims, and prostrating on the field, among the killed and wounded, more than half of the whole army which so lately presented a model of military order, discipline, and prowess.

The advanced column, panic-struck, had retreated in dismay, falling back upon the detachment which next followed. The contagion of alarm here seized the regular troops who, for the first time, heard the Indian yell and war-whoop, and were standing in platoons and receiving the deadly fire of foes who were invisible.

Of the whole army no part, excepting only the Virginia troops, manifested the presence of mind called for by the emergency. They scattered and betook themselves to trees from behind which they assailed the enemy after the manner of the Indian warfare.

In an account of the battle given by Captain Orme he says: "The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortation of the general and the officers that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they got as far as Gist's plantation; nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Colonel Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately,

hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The general had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through the right arm into his lungs of which he died on the 13th instant. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head; Captain Morris wounded. Colonel Washington had two horses shot under him and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot. Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair were wounded."*

Our "well-armed troops, chiefly regulars, were struck with such a panic," says Washington, "that they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive. The officers behaved gallantly in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly, there being nearly sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion of the number we had." "In despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary they ran as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them." "The general was wounded, of which he died three days after. Sir Peter Halket was killed in the field, where died many other brave officers. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me. Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aides-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the general's orders, which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition which induces me to halt here two or three days in the

* Letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, July, 1755.

hope of recovering a little strength to enable me to proceed homeward."*

The whole number of British officers was eighty-six, twenty-six of whom were killed and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the British army was 714. The French had but three officers killed and four wounded, and about sixty soldiers and Indians killed and wounded. Braddock's official papers were taken by the enemy and also Washington's private journal, and his official correspondence during the preceding year's campaign.

[To Governor Dinwiddie Washington wrote July 18th, from Fort Cumberland:

"When we came to within 7 miles of Duquesne, we were attacked (very unexpectedly) by about 300 French and Indians. Our numbers consisted of about 1,300 well-armed men, chiefly Regulars, who were immediately struck with such an inconceivable panic, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers, in general, behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being near 60 killed and wounded,— a large proportion out of the number we had.

"The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers; for I believe out of three companies that were on the ground that day scarce 30 men were left alive. Capt. Peyroney and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed; Capt. Polson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short, the dastardly behavior of the Regular troops (so-called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and, at length, in despite of every effort to the contrary, broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, am-

* Letter to Mrs. Mary Washington, July 16, 1755.

munition, provisions, baggage, and, in short, everything, a prey to the enemy. And when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains, or rivulets with our feet; for they would break by, in despite of every effort that could be made to prevent it.

"The General was wounded in the shoulder and breast, of which he died three days after; his two aides were both wounded [Captains Orme and Morris], but are in a fair way of recovery; Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it; Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave officers, were killed in the field. It is supposed that we had 300 or more killed; about that number we brought off wounded, and it is conjectured (I believe, with much truth) that two-thirds of both received their shot from our own cowardly Regulars, who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep; would then level, fire, and shoot down the men before them.

"I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who, I suppose, will leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security. Colonel Dunbar, who commands at present, intends, as soon as his men are recruited, to continue his march to Philadelphia for winter quarters; consequently there will be no men left here, unless it is the shattered remains of the Virginia troops, who are totally inadequate to the protection of the frontiers."

To his brother John, Washington wrote on the same day:

"As I have heard, since my arrival at this place, a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this early opportunity of contradicting the first, and of

assuring you that I have not composed the latter. But, by the all-powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability, or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, though death was leveling my companions on every side of me!

"We have been *most scandalously beaten by a trifling body of men;* but fatigue and want of time prevent me from giving you any of the details, until I have the happiness of seeing you at Mount Vernon, which I now most earnestly wish for, since we are driven in thus far. A feeble state of health obliges me to halt here for two or three days to recover a little strength, that I may thereby be enabled to proceed homeward with more ease."]

The story of Braddock's ill-fated expedition was at first scarcely credited. The thought of a possibility of his defeat had not been harbored. Arrangements had actually been made in Philadelphia for the celebration of his anticipated valiant achievement, and money had been raised there by subscription for bonfires and illuminations.

Washington arrived home July 26th, and August 2d wrote from Mt. Vernon to Robert Jackson:

"It is true we have been beaten—shamefully beaten by a handful of men who only intended to molest and disturb our march. Victory was their smallest expectation. But see the wondrous works of Providence and the uncertainty of human things! We but a few moments before believed our numbers almost equal to the Canadian force; they only expected to annoy us. Yet contrary to all expectation and human probability, and even to the common course of things, we were totally defeated and sustained the loss of every thing. This, as you observe, must be an affecting story to the colony, and will, no doubt, license the tongues of people to censure those whom they think most blamable;

which, by the by, often falls very wrongfully. I join very heartily with you in believing, that when this story comes to be related in future annals, it will meet with unbelief and indignation, for had I not been witness to the fact on that fatal day, I should scarce have given credit to it even *now*."

Washington's wonderful preservation and escape without a wound, amid so many and great dangers, became very naturally a general topic of conversation throughout the Colonies.

The divine purpose in the preservation of his life was also recognized by an Indian chief and his warriors who were present at Monongahela and in the battle. Washington having occasion to explore some western wild lands about fifteen years after the time of the battle went in company with his friend, Dr. Craik, to a spot near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio rivers. While there he was visited by a sachem and his party, who had heard of his arrival in the forest, and who came to him with a tribute of their homage.

The old chief said that he was present at the battle and among the Indian allies of the French; that he singled him out and repeatedly fired his rifle at him; that he ordered his young warriors also to make him their only mark; but that on finding all their bullets turned aside by some invisible and inscrutable interposition he was convinced that the hero at whom he had so often and so truly aimed must be, for some wise purpose, specially protected by the Great Spirit. He now came therefore to testify his veneration.

When Braddock's troops, retreating from the scene of action, recrossed the Monongahela, Washington hastened to the rear detachment under Dunbar and ordered vehicles for carrying the wounded from the field.

The general had already been removed in a wagon and then put on horseback; but it was soon discovered

that he could not ride, and he was borne upon a litter, first to the rear detachment and then toward the Great Meadows.

On the fourth day he died; and, to conceal his body from hostile savages, it was wrapped in his cloak and interred at night at a spot about a mile west of Fort Necessity. But it was not committed to the earth without the rite of sepulture. There was, it is true, no minister of the Gospel in attendance. It was customary however, in the absence of a clergyman, for the laity in such emergencies to read the Church of England's office for the burial of the dead. And now Washington, standing near the lifeless body about to be consigned "dust to dust," read by the light of a torch the words of the solemn burial service.

[Irving's narrative of the return of Washington to duty with Braddock, and of the terrible disaster of July 9th, may be quoted here as one of his many matchless sketches of forever memorable scenes:

"Washington was warmly received on his arrival, especially by his fellow aides-de-camp, Morris and Orme. He was just in time, for the attack upon Fort Duquesne was to be made on the following day. The neighboring country had been reconnoitered to determine upon a plan of attack. The fort stood on the same side of the Monongahela with the camp; but there was a narrow pass between them of about two miles, with the river on the left and a very high mountain on the right, and in its present state quite impassable for carriages. The route determined on was to cross the Monongahela by a ford immediately opposite to the camp; proceed along the west bank of the river, for about five miles, then recross by another ford to the eastern side, and push on to the fort. The river at these fords was shallow, and the banks were not steep.

"According to the plan of arrangement, Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, with the advance, was to cross the river before daybreak, march to the second ford, and recrossing there, take post to secure the passage of the main force. The advance was to be composed of two companies of grenadiers, one hundred and sixty infantry, the independent company of Captain Horatio Gates, and two six-pounders.

" Washington, who had already seen enough of regular troops to doubt their infallibility in wild bush-fighting, and who knew the dangerous nature of the ground they were to traverse, ventured to suggest, that on the following day the Virginia rangers, being accustomed to the country and to Indian warfare, might be thrown in the advance. The proposition drew an angry reply from the general, indignant very probably, that a young provincial officer should presume to school a veteran like himself.

" Early next morning (July 9th), before daylight, Colonel Gage crossed with the advance. He was followed at some distance by Sir John St. Clair, quartermaster-general, with a working party of 250 men, to make roads for the artillery and baggage. They had with them their wagons of tools, and two six-pounders. A party of about thirty savages rushed out of the woods as Colonel Gage advanced, but were put to flight before they had done any harm.

" By sunrise the main body turned out in full uniform, at the beating of 'the general,' their arms, which had been cleaned the night before, were charged with fresh cartridges. The officers were perfectly equipped. All looked as if arrayed for a fête, rather than a battle. Washington, who was still weak and unwell, mounted his horse and joined the staff of the general, who was scrutinizing everything with the eye of a martinet. As it was supposed the enemy would be on the watch for the crossing of the troops, it had been agreed that they should do it

in the greatest order, with bayonets fixed, colors flying, and drums and fifes beating and playing.* They accordingly made a gallant appearance as they forded the Monongahela, and wound along its banks and through the open forests, gleaming and glittering in morning sunshine and stepping buoyantly to the 'Grenadiers' March.'

"Washington, with his keen and youthful relish for military affairs, was delighted with their perfect order and equipment, so different from the rough bush-fighters, to which he had been accustomed. Roused to new life, he forgot his recent ailments, and broke forth in expressions of enjoyment and admiration as he rode in company with his fellow aides-de-camp, Orme and Morris. Often, in after life, he used to speak of the effect upon him of the first sight of a well-disciplined European army, marching in high confidence and bright array, on the eve of a battle.

"About noon they reached the second ford. Gage, with the advance, was on the opposite side of the Monongahela, posted according to orders; but the river bank had not been sufficiently sloped. The artillery and baggage drew up along the beach and halted until one, when the second crossing took place, drums beating, fifes playing, and colors flying as before. When all had passed, there was again a halt close by a small stream called Frazier's Run, until the general arranged the order of march.

"First went the advance, under Gage, preceded by the engineers and guides and six light horsemen.

"Then Sir John St. Clair and the working party, with their wagons and the two six-pounders. On each side were thrown out four flanking parties.

"Then, at some distance, the general was to follow with the main body, the artillery and baggage were preceded

* Orme's Journal.

and flanked by light horse and squads of infantry; while the Virginian and other provincial troops were to form the rearguard.

"The ground before them was level until about half a mile from the river, where a rising ground, covered with long grass, low bushes, and scattered trees, sloped gently up to a range of hills. The whole country, generally speaking, was a forest, with no clear opening but the road, which was about twelve feet wide, and flanked by two ravines, concealed by trees and thickets.

"Had Braddock been schooled in the warfare of the woods, or had he adopted the suggestions of Washington, which he rejected so impatiently, he would have thrown out Indian scouts or Virginian rangers in the advance, and on the flanks, to beat up the woods and ravines; but as has been sarcastically observed, he suffered his troops to march forward through the center of the plain, with merely their usual guides and flanking parties, 'as if in a review in St. James's Park.'

"It was now near 2 o'clock. The advanced party and the working party had crossed the plain and were ascending the rising ground. Braddock was about to follow with the main body, and had given the word to march, when he heard an excessively quick and heavy firing in front. Washington, who was with the general, surmised that the evil he had apprehended had come to pass. For want of scouting parties ahead, the advance parties were suddenly and warmly attacked. Braddock ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Burton to hasten to their asistance with the vanguard of the main body, 800 strong. The residue, 400, were halted, and posted to protect the artillery and baggage.

"The firing continued with fearful yelling. There was a terrible uproar. By the general's orders an aide-de-camp spurred forward to bring him an account of the nature of

the attack. Without waiting for his return, the general himself, finding the turmoil increase, moved forward, leaving Sir Peter Halket with the command of the baggage.

The van of the advance had indeed been taken by surprise. It was composed of two companies of pioneers to cut the road, and two flank companies of grenadiers to protect them. Suddenly the engineer who preceded them to mark out the road gave the alarm, "French and Indians!" A body of them was approaching rapidly, cheered on by a Frenchman in gayly fringed hunting-shirt, whose gorget showed him to be an officer. There was sharp firing on both sides at first. Several of the enemy fell; among them their leader; but a murderous fire broke out from among trees and a ravine on the right, and the woods resounded with unearthly whoops and yellings. The Indian rifle was at work, leveled by unseen hands. Most of the grenadiers and many of the pioneers were shot down. The survivors were driven in on the advance.

Gage ordered his men to fix bayonets and form in order of battle. They did so in hurry and trepidation. He would have scaled a hill on the right whence there was the severest firing. Not a platoon would quit the line of march. They were more dismayed by the yells than by the rifles of the unseen savages. The latter extended themselves along the hill and in the ravines; but their whereabouts was only known by their demoniac cries and the puffs of smoke from their rifles. The soldiers fired wherever they saw the smoke. Their officers tried in vain to restrain them until they should see their foe. All orders were unheeded; in their fright they shot at random, killing some of their own flanking parties, and of the vanguard, as they came running in. The covert fire grew more intense. In a short time most of the officers and many of the men of the advance were killed or

wounded. Colonel Gage himself received a wound. The advance fell back in dismay upon Sir John St. Clair's corps, which was equally dismayed. The cannon belonging to it were deserted.

Colonel Burton had come up with the reinforcement, and was forming his men to face the rising ground on the right, when both of the advanced detachments fell back upon him, and all now was confusion.

By this time the general was upon the ground. He tried to rally the men. "They would fight," they said, "if they could see their enemy; but it was useless to fire at trees and bushes, and they could not stand to be shot down by an invisible foe."

The colors were advanced in different places to separate the men of the two regiments. The general ordered the officers to form the men, tell them off into small divisions, and advance with them; but the soldiers could not be prevailed upon either by threats or entreaties. The Virginia troops, accustomed to the Indian mode of fighting, scattered themselves, and took post behind trees, whence they could pick off the lurking foe. In this way they, in some degree, protected the regulars. Washington advised General Braddock to adopt the same plan with the regulars; but he persisted in forming them into platoons; consequently they were cut down from behind logs and trees as fast as they could advance. Several attempted to take to the trees without orders, but the general stormed at them, called them cowards, and even struck them with the flat of his sword. Several of the Virginians, who had taken post and were doing good service in this manner, were slain by the fire of the regulars, directed wherever a smoke appeared among the trees.

The officers behaved with consummate bravery; and Washington beheld with admiration those who, in camp

or on the march, had appeared to him to have an almost effeminate regard for personal ease and convenience, now exposing themselves to imminent death, with a courage that kindled with the thickening horrors. In the vain hope of inspiriting the men to drive off the enemy from the flanks and regain the cannon, they would dash forward singly or in groups. They were invariably shot down; for the Indians aimed from their coverts at every one on horseback, or who appeared to have command.

Some were killed by random shot of their own men, who, crowded in masses, fired with affrighted rapidity, but without aim. Soldiers in the front ranks were killed by those in the rear. Between friend and foe, the slaughter of the officers was terrible. All this while the woods resounded with the unearthly yellings of the savages, and now and then one of them, hideously painted, and ruffling with feathered crest, would rush forth to scalp an officer who had fallen, or seize a horse galloping wildly without a rider.

Throughout this disastrous day, Washington distinguished himself by his courage and presence of mind. His brother aides, Orme and Morris, were wounded and disabled early in the action, and the whole duty of carrying the orders of the general devolved on him. His danger was imminent and incessant. He was in every part of the field, a conspicuous mark for the murderous rifle. Two horses were shot under him. Four bullets passed through his coat. His escape without a wound was almost miraculous. Dr. Craik, who was on the field attending to the wounded, watched him with anxiety as he rode about in the most exposed manner, and used to say that he expected every moment to see him fall. At one time he was sent to the main body to bring the artillery into action. All there was likewise in confusion; for the Indians had

extended themselves along the ravine so as to flank the reserve and carry slaughter into the ranks. Sir Peter Halket had been shot down at the head of his regiment. The men who should have served the guns were paralyzed. Had they raked the ravines with grape-shot the day might have been saved. In his ardor Washington sprang from his horse, wheeled and pointed a brass field-piece with his own hand, and directed an effective discharge into the woods; but neither his efforts nor example were of avail. The men could not be kept to the guns.

Braddock still remained in the center of the field, in the desperate hope of retrieving the fortunes of the day. The Virginia rangers, who had been most efficient in covering his position, were nearly all killed or wounded. His secretary, Shirley, had fallen by his side. Many of his officers had been slain within his sight, and many of his guard of Virginia light horse. Five horses had been killed under him; still he kept his ground, vainly endeavoring to check the flight of his men, or at least to effect their retreat in good order. At length a bullet passed through his right arm and lodged itself in his lungs. He fell from his horse, but was caught by Captain Stewart of the Virginia guards, who, with the assistance of another American, and a servant, placed him in a tumbril. It was with much difficulty they got him out of the field — in his despair he desired to be left there.

The rout now became complete. Baggage, stores, artillery, everything was abandoned. The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and fled. The officers were swept off with the men in this headlong flight. It was rendered more precipitate by the shouts and yells of the savages, numbers of whom rushed forth from their coverts, and pursued the fugitives to the river side, killing several as they dashed across in tumultuous confusion.

Fortunately for the latter, the victors gave up the pursuit in their eagerness to collect the spoil.

The shattered army continued its flight after it had crossed the Monongahela, a wretched wreck of the brilliant little force that had recently gleamed along its banks, confident of victory. Out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six had been killed, and thirty-six wounded. The number of rank and file killed and wounded was upward of seven hundred. The Virginia corps had suffered the most; one company had been almost annihilated, another, beside those killed and wounded in the ranks, had lost all its officers, even to the corporal.

About a hundred men were brought to a halt about a quarter of a mile from the ford of the river. Here was Braddock, with his wounded aides-de-camp and some of his officers, Dr. Craik dressing his wounds, and Washington attending him with faithful assiduity. Braddock was still able to give orders, and had a faint hope of being able to keep possession of the ground until reinforced. Most of the men were stationed in a very advantageous spot about two hundred yards from the road; and Lieutenant-Colonel Burton posted out small parties and sentinels. Before an hour had elapsed most of the men had stolen off. Being thus deserted, Braddock and his officers continued their retreat; he would have mounted his horse, but was unable, and had to be carried by soldiers. Orme and Morris were placed on litters borne by horses They were subsequently joined by Colonel Gage with eighty men whom he had rallied.

Washington, in the meantime, notwithstanding his weak state, being found most efficient in frontier service, was sent to Colonel Dunbar's camp, forty miles distant, with orders for him to hurry forward provisions, hospital stores, and wagons for the wounded, under the escort of two

grenadier companies. It was a hard and a melancholy ride throughout the night and the following day. The tidings of the defeat preceded him, borne by the wagoners, who had mounted their horses on Braddock's fall, and fled from the field of battle. They had arrived, haggard, at Dunbar's camp at midday; the Indians yells still ringing in their ears. "All was lost!" they cried. "Braddock was killed! They had seen wounded officers borne off from the field in bloody sheets! The troops were all cut to pieces!" A panic fell upon the camp. The drums beat to arms. Many of the soldiers, wagoners, and attendants, took to flight; but most of them were forced back by the sentinels.

Washington arrived at the camp in the evening, and found the agitation still prevailing. The orders which he brought were executed during the night, and he was in the saddle early in the morning accompanying the convoy of supplies. At Gist's plantation, about thirteen miles off, he met Gage and his scanty force escorting Braddock and his wounded officers. Captain Stewart and a sad remnant of the Virginia light horse still accompanied the general as his guard. The captain had been unremitting in his attentions to him during the retreat. There was a halt of one day at Dunbar's camp for the repose and relief of the wounded. On the 13th they resumed their melancholy march, and that night reached the Great Meadows.

The proud spirit of Braddock was broken by his defeat. He remained silent the first evening after the battle, only ejaculating at night, "Who would have thought it!" He was equally silent the following day; yet hope still seemed to linger in his breast, from another ejaculation: "We shall better know how to deal with them another time!"

He was grateful for the attentions paid to him by Cap-

tain Stewart and Washington, and more than once, it is said, expressed his admiration of the gallantry displayed by the Virginians in the action. It is said, moreover, that in his last moments he apologized to Washington for the petulance with which he had rejected his advice, and bequeathed to him his favorite charger, and his faithful servant, Bishop, who had helped to convey him from the field.

Some of these facts, it is true, rest on tradition, yet we are willing to believe them, as they impart a gleam of just and generous feeling to his closing scene. He died on the night of the 13th, at the Great Meadows, the place of Washington's discomfiture in the previous year. His obsequies were performed before break of day. The chaplain having been wounded, Washington read the funeral service. All was done in sadness, and without parade, so as not to attract the attention of lurking savages, who might discover and outrage his grave."]*

Before the occurrence of the disastrous affair at the Monongahela, Braddock received an offer of the services of a hundred friendly Indians. But so self-confident was he, and so contemptuous was his opinion of the savages and their mode of warfare, that, regardless of Washington's counsels on the subject, he treated their offer with cold and even offensive indifference. Had he employed them as scouts, they would undoubtedly have discovered the enemy's ambuscade and have enabled him to anticipate their fatal stratagem; and, by means of the grapeshot of a few field pieces, not only to reveal the hiding places of the invisible foe, but to convert their ravines from places of security into vast repositories of the dead.

In the confidence of power, he appears to have disdained the customary prudential measures for discovering the enemy's plans and detecting their machinations.

* See Irving, Vol. I, p. 230.

On the other hand, M. Contrecœur, commandant of the French fort, resorted to every practicable expedient to ascertain, in detail, whatever he required to know respecting Braddock's army and its movements. He was convinced that the thought of contending with the British army in a pitched battle was preposterous. He was at a loss to decide in what manner he could most judiciously receive it. At this crisis one of his captains, M. Beaujeu, volunteered, with a mixed party of French, Canadians, and Indians, to annoy the British forces while crossing the Monongahela and to retard their progress toward the fort. Arriving too late to effect their purpose at the river, Beaujeu and his party betook themselves to the ravines, and lay in ambush behind trees and in the long grass with which the ravines were skirted. They were in all but about 850 men, including 600 Indians. They thought not for a moment of being able to put to rout the British army. But on this occasion as on many others in the history of war, presumptuous confidence was suddenly converted into dismay; and inferior numbers were awarded the success of a triumph, alike unexpected and wonderful.

Amid the prevailing gloom of this melancholy scene, the mind finds a pleasing relief in contemplating the character and conduct of Washington. When all the other mounted officers of Braddock's army were, without exception, slain or disabled, the Virginian aide-de-camp, mysteriously protected with a view to the fulfillment of a high destiny, was preserved from death and was not even wounded. His friend, Dr. Craik, who was a witness of this remarkable divine interposition, observed: "I expected every moment to see him fall. His duty and situation exposed him to every danger. Nothing but the

superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." He was suffering from the effect of his debilitating fever, and he was then on horseback for the first time after his partial recovery; but he displayed, as if acting under the control of a superhuman impulse, the most extraordinary presence of mind, accompanied with intrepidity, firmness, discretion, and sound judgment.

And his generous and kind sympathies also were in active exercise. He had been assisted by Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Guards, and by a servant, in bearing the wounded general from the field; but, on consigning him to the captain's special care, he had immediately returned to his post of duty and of danger. With spirit and skill he rallied the panic-stricken troops after their having crossed the Monongahela. It now devolved upon him to hasten to the rear detachment of the army and order wagons for the wounded; and he accomplished this, to the relief of many a suffering officer and soldier.

The particular and important duties which, in the ordering of events, were successively assigned to him, and which he faithfully performed, conspired to commend his character and conduct to universal admiration. The story spread of his being endowed with a charmed life; and his friends and countrymen spontaneously indulged in glowing anticipations of the future of his history. An eloquent preacher of the time, the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterward president of Princeton College, in a sermon preached before one of the volunteer companies, commented upon the prevailing military spirit, and said: "As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so

signal a manner for some important service to his country."*

[One author, with surprising misinformation and dependence on imagination, garnishes a meager sketch of Braddock's defeat with these amazingly false references to Washington:

"As soon as his fever abated a little, he left Colonel Dunbar, and being unable to sit on a horse, was conveyed to the front in a wagon.

"Washington at the outset, flung himself headlong into the fight. * * * All through that dreadful carnage he rode fiercely about, raging with the excitement of battle.

"Splendidly reckless on the day of battle, * * * he comes before us, above all things the fighting man, hot-blooded and fierce in action."

Washington's fever had abated as early as June 23, and it was not until July 3, that he started to overtake Braddock. On July 9 he did no flinging of himself headlong into the battle. He was Braddock's aide, strictly confined to carrying Braddock's orders, except as some action came within his reach, as when he was sent to order the artillery to get at work, and sprang from his horse to wheel and point a brass field-piece. He did no riding fiercely about, raging with the excitement of battle, and the writer had no more reason for putting up stuff of this kind than he would have had for saying that Washington took to the woods in mad fool-fury to get a swordcut at the savages, and yelled so loud that he was heard at Mount Vernon. "Above all things, the fighting man, hot-blooded and fierce in action," is a description of Washington which could not well be more grotesquely and thoroughly false.]

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* "Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of a Good Soldier," a sermon preached August 17, 1755.

CHAPTER VI.

WASHINGTON, THE VIRGINIA COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

1755–1757.

THE deplorable result of Braddock's formidable expedition not only created a general and startling sensation throughout the Colonies, but prompted new and powerful emotions of self-reliance.

And the subsequent conduct of Colonel Dunbar in abandoning the Colonies tended greatly to increase this state of feeling. In command of the rear detachment of Braddock's army he was forty miles from the scene of action during the battle of the Monongahela. But the retreating troops of the advanced detachment fell back upon his party, and in the consternation of their flight they spread the contagion of their panic.

To disappoint the French and Indians should they continue in pursuit, the artillery and all the stores that could not be removed were now destroyed, and the colonel hurried on his march. He was at that time in command of more than 1,000 men. The important obligation devolved upon him to protect the settlements. He received urgent communications from the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, requesting that detachments of his army might be posted on their frontiers, now in a state of great alarm. But regardless of their appeals and adopting no measures of resistance nor of defense in behalf of the Colonies, he rapidly pursued his march to Philadelphia to

what he called his winter quarters, for the purpose, it would appear, rather of receiving than of affording protection.

The complaints created by this proceeding were of course loud and general. In the irritation which it produced the intrepidity of brave Virginia troops was invidiously contrasted with the cowardly conduct of professed veterans. In some terse remarks on the subject Dr. Franklin says: "This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded."*

The news of Dunbar's conduct was received while the Virginia Assembly was in session. And it convinced the minds of members of the Assembly that the time had come for a resort to vigorous measures of self-preservation.

[General Braddock's expedition had been especially aimed at the operations of the French on the Ohio, but in connection therewith plans had been determined upon at the meeting of the Governors, April 14, 1755, with Braddock and Commodore Keppel, for expeditions against the French, both at Niagara and at Crown Point. Governor Shirley, with Sir William Pepperell's regiments and some New York companies, was to attack the force of Indians and French at Niagara, about the end of June, and Col. Wm. Johnson, the rich Mohawk country potentate, with a large force of the warriors of the Six Nations, was to proceed against Crown Point.

But with Braddock's overthrow, and the slaughter of his army which sent terror everywhere that the news came, the plans of Shirley against Niagara went to pieces; the men engaged for river transportation of stores evaded serving; it was near the end of August before the expedition was in force at Oswego; and with delays and troubles

* Dr. Franklin's "Autobiography," near the close of chap. x; Works, vol. I, p. 192.

there, Shirley did no more than to commence fortifying, and leaving 700 men as a garrison, returned to Albany in October with the main part of his forces.

The plans for Johnson's attack upon Crown Point were hardly more successful. The expedition ascended the Hudson to the point from which land carriage crossed to the lower end of the lake, to which Johnson gave the name of Lake George. Here a fort was begun, to which was given later the name of Fort Edward. Leaving General Lyman to complete and defend the fort, Johnson proceeded to Lake George with a force of 5,000 to 6,000 troops of New York and New England, and a very large contingent of Mohawk Indians. The French commander recently arrived at Quebec, Baron de Dieskau, with a force of 3,000 men, was aiming at Oswego, and had gone to Montreal, and sent forward 700 of his troops, when the news came of Johnson's formidable expedition on the way to Crown Point, and perhaps to Canada. The Baron took post at Crown Point with regular troops, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians, and he thence set off for Fort Edward, from which Johnson had advanced to Lake George. He hoped to surprise the fort, and make a dash south for the destruction of Albany and Schenectady, and thus cut off all communication with Oswego. Johnson meanwhile, in camp at the south end of Lake George, awaiting the boat service for proceeding north, learned September 7th, of the peril of French attack at Fort Edward, and the next morning sent Colonel Williams with 1,000 men and 200 Indians, to intercept the French. Within two hours, heavy firing, which soon indicated that Williams was retreating, caused Johnson's command to take measures for defense, such as were possible with only a breastwork of trees, some heavy cannon on the front, and a field-piece on an eminence on the left flank. The

fleeing troops of Williams arriving in wild confusion, with the enemy in close pursuit, and soon after the French regulars in battle line, with Canadians and Indians, seemed to portend overwhelming defeat for Johnson's command, and the capture of his camp. In the moment of extremest peril, however, Dieskau's Canadians and Indians flinched from direct assault, took to bush-fighting, and left the baron with 200 grenadiers a compact target for the artillery and musketry fire of Johnson's garrison, and at a distance short of any serious effect of their platoon firing. The action became more and more one of British success, until the French grenadiers, terribly cut up, gave way, and Johnson's men with the Mohawks issued from their camp in a fierce onset, which became a slaughter of the assailants, an utter rout or capture of the French, with their gallant commander so severely wounded as to result in his death. It appeared that the plan of Dieskau for surprising Fort Edward he was obliged to change because his Canadians and Indians, fearing the fire of cannon, refused to make the assault; and when he turned back to surprise Johnson's camp the same hesitation of his Canadian troops and Indian allies caused the disaster with which his expedition ended.

Johnson, on his part, hesitating to advance upon Crown Point until he could leave a strong fort on the site of his camp, consumed the season in building a stockaded fort, which he named Fort William Henry.]

Washington, still suffering from the effects of his fever, remained at Mount Vernon for at least temporary relief from toil, and for the recruiting of his energies. He felt, with the whole community, that an important crisis had arrived. The military spirit was abroad. The sound of martial music and the signs of warlike preparations were heard and seen at every step.

[Augustine Washington, the older half-brother of George, was at this time a member of the House of Burgesses in session at Williamsburg, and to him Washington wrote, August 2, 1755:

"The pleasure of your company at Mount Vernon always did, and always will, afford me infinite satisfaction; but at this time, I am too sensible how needful the country is of *all* its members, to have a wish to hear that any are absent from the Assembly. I most sincerely wish that unanimity may prevail in all your councils, and that a happy issue may attend your deliberations at this important crisis.

"I am not able, were I ever so willing, to meet you in town, for I assure you it is with some difficulty, and with much fatigue, that I visit my plantations in the Neck; so much has a sickness of 5 weeks' continuance reduced me. But though it is not in my power to meet you there, I can nevertheless assure you that I am so little dispirited at what has happened, that I am always ready and always willing, to render my country any services that I am capable of, but *never* upon the *terms* I have done; having suffered much in my private fortune, besides impairing one of the best of constitutions. I was employed to go a journey in the winter, when I believe few or none would have undertaken it, and what did I get by it? — my expenses borne! I was then appointed, with trifling pay, to conduct a handful of men to the Ohio. What did I get by this? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expense in equipping and providing necessaries for the campaign, *I went out, was soundly beaten, and lost all!* Came in, and had my commission taken from me, or in other words, my command reduced, under pretense of an order from home (England). I then went out a volunteer with General Braddock, and lost all my

horses, and many other things. But this being a voluntary act, I ought not to have mentioned it; nor should I have done it, were it not to show that I have been *on the losing order ever since I entered the service*, which is *now nearly two years.*

"So that I think I cannot be blamed, should I, if I leave my family again, endeavor to do it upon such terms as to prevent my suffering; to *gain* by it being the least of my expectation.

"I doubt not but you have heard the particulars of our shameful defeat, which really was so scandalous that I hate to mention it. You desire to know what artillery was taken in the late engagement. It is easily told. We lost all that we carried out, excepting two six-pounders, and a few cohorns, that were left with Col. Dunbar; and the cohorns have since been destroyed to expedite his flight. You also ask, whether I think the forces can march out again this fall. I answer, I think it impossible, at least, for them to do the French any damage (unless it be by starving them), for want of a proper train of artillery; yet they may be very serviceable in erecting small fortresses at convenient places to deposit provisions in, by which means the country will be eased of an immense expense in the carriage, and it will also be a means of securing retreat, if we should be put to the rout again. The success of this though will depend greatly upon what Gov. Shirley does at Niagara; for, if he succeeds, their communication with Canada will be entirely cut off.

"It is impossible for me to guess at the number of recruits that may be wanting, as that must depend altogether upon the strength of the French on the Ohio, which, to my great astonishment, we were always strangers to.

"I thank you very heartily for your kind offer of a chair, and for your goodness in sending my things; and,

after begging you to excuse the imperfections of the above, (which are, in part, owing to my having much company that hurries me,) I shall conclude, Dear Sir, your most affectionate brother."

It was with this older half-brother that Washington had spent the four years of schooling after his father's death. The terms of cordial pleasure and affection used by Washington do not preclude formal respect.

The results of Washington's venture with Braddock, to his health, as well as exposure to perils of battle, naturally prompted the young soldier's mother to give expression to her anxiety not to have him venture again; and to her he replied as follows:

"Honored Madam: If it is in my power to avoid going *to the Ohio* again, I shall; but *if the command is pressed upon me by the general voice of the country*, and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonor on me to refuse it; and that, I am sure, must, and ought, to give you greater uneasiness than my going in an honorable command. Upon no other terms will I accept it. At present I have no proposals made to me, nor have I any advice of such an intention, except from private hands."

At the Virginia capital the question of recognition of Washington's military abilities and services was much agitated, and while it was known that Gov. Dinwiddie's personal favorite was Colonel Innes,* it was understood that

* Colonel James Innes was from Scotland, a settler in New Hanover, North Carolina. He had seen service in the British expedition of 1740–1741 against Carthagena. In 1754 he marched from North Carolina with 350 men, reaching Winchester June 30th, and upon Colonel Fry's death Dinwiddie gave him the command of the Ohio expedition, at the same time giving Washington the command of the Virginia troops. The North Carolina troops disbanded before joining Washington's. Dinwiddie wrote to

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the weight of Washington's claims was conceded by his excellency; and Washington's friends wrote urging him to appear on the scene, with a view to its being known that he would not refuse to serve as commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, if the terms insisted on by him were complied with. To Mr. Warner Lewis, one of the friends in correspondence with Washington, he wrote, August 14th, as follows:

"After returning you my most sincere and grateful thanks for your kind condolence on my late indisposition, and for the generous (and give me leave farther to say) partial opinion you have entertained of my military abilities, I must express my concern for not having it in my power to meet you, and other friends who have signified their desire of seeing me in Williamsburg.

"Your letter only came to hand at nine last night, and you inform me that the Assembly will break up the latter end of the week, which allows a time too short in which to perform a journey of a hundred and sixty miles, especially by a person in my weak and feeble condition; for, although I am happily recovered from the disorder, which brought me to so low an ebb, by a sickness of nearly five weeks continuance, yet my strength is not returned to me. Had I got timely notice, I would have attempted the ride, by slow and easy journeys, if it had

Washington, June 25, 1754, that in view of the fact that some of the troops were organized as independent companies, he had ordered Colonel Innes to command in chief, and Washington to be second in command. About a year later, when Washington had resigned from the army, and was serving as a volunteer aide with Braddock, he said in a letter of June 7, 1755, to William Fairfax: "General Innes has accepted a commission to be Governor of Fort Cumberland, where he is to reside; and will shortly receive another to be hangman, or something of that kind, and for which he is equally qualified."

been only for the satisfaction of seeing my friends, who, I flatter myself, from what you say, are kind enough to sympathize in my good and evil fortunes.

"The chief reason (next to indisposition), that prevented me from coming down to this Assembly, was a determination not to offer my services; and that determination proceeded from the following reasons: First, a belief that I could not get a command upon such terms as I should incline to accept; for I must confess to you, that I never will quit my family, injure my fortune, and (above all) impair my health, to run the risk of such changes and vicissitudes as I have met with, but shall expect, if I am employed again, to have something *certain.*

"Again, was I to accept the command, I should insist upon some things which ignorance and inexperience made me overlook before, particularly that of having the officers appointed, in some measure, with my advice and with my concurrence; for, I must add, I think a commanding officer's not having this liberty appears to me to be a strange thing, when it is considered how much the conduct and bravery of an officer influence the men, how much a commanding officer is answerable for the behavior of the inferior officers, and how much his good or ill success, in time of action, depends upon the conduct of each particular one, especially too, in this kind of fighting, where, being dispersed, each and every one of them at that time has a greater liberty to misbehave than if he were [in a body of men] regularly and compactly drawn up under the eyes of his superior officer.

"On the other hand, how little credit is given to a commander, who, after a defeat, in relating the cause of it, justly lays the blame on some individual, whose cowardly behavior betrayed the whole to ruin! How little does the world consider the circumstances, and how apt are

mankind to level their vindictive censures against the unfortunate chief, who perhaps merited least of the blame!

"Does it not then appear that the appointing of officers is a thing of the utmost consequence; a thing that requires the greatest circumspection? Ought it to be left to blind chance, or, what is still worse, to partiality? Should it not be left to a man whose life (and what is still dearer, his honor) depends upon their good behavior?

"There are necessary officers yet wanting, for whom no provision has been made. A small military chest is so absolutely necessary, that it is impossible to do without, nor can any man conduct an affair of this kind who has it not.

"These things I should expect if the appointment fell upon me.

"But, besides all these, I had other reasons, which withheld me from offering my services. I believe our circumstances are brought to that unhappy dilemma, that no man can gain any honor by conducting our forces at this time, but will rather lose in his reputation if he attempts it. For I am confident, the progress of military movements must be slow, for want of conveniences to transport our provisions, ammunition, and stores over the mountain; occasioned, in a great measure, by the late ill-treatment of the wagoners and horsedrivers, who have received little compensation for their labor, and nothing for their lost horses and wagons; which will be an infallible cause of preventing all from assisting that are not compelled. So that I am fully sensible, whoever undertakes this command will meet with such insurmountable obstacles that he will soon be viewed in the light of an idle, indolent body; have his conduct criticised; and meet perhaps with opprobrious abuse, when it may be as much

out of his power to avoid delays as it would to command the raging seas in a storm.

"Viewing these things in the light I do has no small influence upon me, as I am very apprehensive I should lose what at present constitutes the chief part of my happiness, *i. e.*, the esteem and notice which the country has been pleased to honor me with.

"It is possible you may infer from what I have said that my intentions are to decline at all events; but my meaning is not so. I am determined not to offer; because to solicit the command, and at the same time to make my proposals, would be a little incongruous and would carry with it the face of self-sufficiency. But if the command should be offered, the case is then altered, as I should be at liberty to make such objections as reason and my small experience had pointed out. I hope you will make my compliments to all enquiring friends.

"I am, dear Warner, your most affectionate friend, and obedient servant."]

The House of Burgesses made a liberal appropriation for the public service. They voted to Colonel Washington and to all the surviving officers and privates with him at the Monongahela, a liberal grant, in consideration of "their gallant behavior and their losses." They increased the regiment to sixteen companies, and they appointed Colonel Washington to the chief command with unusual evidences of their consideration.

His character and talents were appreciated more highly than ever. He was the favorite soldier and the military master-spirit of Virginia. The House of Burgesses authorized him to name his field officers; they allowed him an aide-de-camp and secretary, and they entitled him in his commission "Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, in the Colony of Virginia."

[The date of the governor's commission and instructions to Washington, upon his appointment as Virginian commander-in-chief, was August 14, 1755, when Washington was twenty-three years and six months of age. The governor's action had provided for raising sixteen companies, making the force 1,000 men, to be incorporated into a regiment.

To Charles Lewis, at this time, Washington wrote (August 14, 1755): "I wish, my Dear Charles, it was more in my power than it is, to answer the favorable opinion my friends have conceived of my military abilities. Let them not be deceived; I am unequal to the task, and do assure you that it requires more experience than I am master of, to conduct an affair of the importance that *this* is now arisen to."]

Governor Dinwiddie, in one of his official communications to the British Government, spoke of the Virginia colonel as "a man of great merit and resolution;" and he added: "I am convinced had Braddock survived he would have recommended him to royal favor." But the universal sentiment of the people was far more efficacious in promoting his influence and in forwarding his ultimate purposes than all that could have been derived from royal favor. It is a memorable fact that Washington, with all his acknowledged merits, was never favored with even one testimony of approbation from the King or the ministry.

[Dinwiddie wrote in the official communication mentioned: "Our officers are greatly dispirited for want of his majesty's commissions, that, when they join the regulars, they may have some rank; and I am persuaded it would be of infinite service, if his Majesty would graciously please to honor them with his commissions, the same as Gen. Shirley's and Sir William Pepperell's regiments."]

It was but a month after his return from the Mononga-

hela that he received his new commission. But he entered upon the duties of his office promptly and energetically. He visited all the outposts, even to Fort Dinwiddie, and acquired a particular knowledge of his field of labor.

At this time an incursion of the Indians on the western border of the province created great alarm. Their ravages were bloody and dreadful, and the fears which they created were not less desolating to many a happy home on the frontier. A detachment of the militia was sent against the invaders; a prompt and severe infliction taught them that their depredations and massacres would meet with speedy vengeance, and thus they were effectually restrained for a time from the repetition of atrocities.

The militia accomplished an important object. Their expedition was attended however with many and painful evidences of a want of military subordination and control. In the whole militia system there were imperfections and difficulties, numerous and formidable, arising chiefly from the impotence of the existing army regulations.

As a measure of supreme importance the revision and remodeling of these regulations now engaged the thoughts of Washington. He made it the constant theme of his communications to the Governor and the Assembly; he rallied round it the thoughts and feelings of many influential men; and he had at last the great satisfaction of seeing it regarded with the attention which it deserved, and of finding every desirable provision made for a proper military code.

[To John Robinson, speaker of the House of Burgesses and of very exceptional eminence as a Virginian of wealth, social distinction, and political importance, Washington wrote from Alexandria, September 11, 1755:

"After a small halt at Fredericksburg, to issue out orders to the recruiting officers appointed to that rendezvous, I proceeded to this place, in order to collect a return

of the provisions, clothing, etc., that were lodged here, an exact copy of which I herewith send you. I find, after the soldiers have their short allowances, there will arise great inconveniences, if stores of clothing are not laid in to supply their wants; particularly shoes, stockings, and shirts, for these are the least durable and mostly needed.

"The method I would recommend is, for the country to provide these things, and lodge them, or a convenient part thereof, in the hands of the quartermaster, who may be appointed to receive and deliver them to the soldiers, by particular orders from their captains, taking care to produce these orders, and proper vouchers for the delivery, each pay-day, when it must be deducted out of the soldier's pay who receives it. And then this, I think, will be a means of keeping them always provided and fit for duty, preventing the officers from supplying the men, which is generally attended with misunderstandings; and will also be a means of discouraging followers of the army from demanding such exorbitant prices, as is usually practiced on these occasions. However, I only offer this as the most efficacious method I can at present think of. If any other more eligible can be found, I should be glad to see it executed, as something of the kind must be done, otherwise the soldiers will be barefoot, etc., which always pleads for exemption from duty, and, indeed, in the approaching season, will be a very just one. You will be a judge, when you see the returns, what had best be done with the provisions. The quantity is too great for the present consumption, and to wagon it up can never answer the expense.

"Major Carlyle thinks the West India market best, as the returns will be in rum, which he can soon turn into flour at the camp.

"I am afraid I shall not be able to push things with vigor this fall, for want of a commissary who will act with spirit. Mr. Dick seems determined not to enter into any further contracts, unless he is better supported, or till he meets the committee in October, by which time the best season for engaging beef will be almost over. And the Governor, by the advice of Sir John St. Clair, expressed, just as I was coming away, his desire of having him continued; so that I am entirely ignorant how to act. The making of contracts is foreign to my duty; neither have I time; and to see the service suffer will give me infinite uneasiness, as I would gladly conduct everything, as I am capable, with life and spirit, which never can be done without a fund of money is lodged in camp for defraying the contingent charges. As I believed it difficult to get all the clothing in any one part of the country, I engaged it where I could, and have got shoes, stockings, shirts, and hats enough upon tolerably good terms, as you may see by the enclosed.

"Major Carlyle is also willing to engage 100 complete suits, as good as those imported, for £3, or less; which I have acquainted the Governor of, and I believe it to be as cheap as can be got below, as it is the making chiefly that occasions the difference between the imported and those provided here."

On the same date as the above Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, that he was afraid the recruiting would be greatly delayed; that at the general muster in the county an attempt failed; and that even a draft would answer no end under the existing regulations, which had no effect to keep men from deserting.

After despatching the business at Alexandria, Washington went on to Winchester, September 14th; from thence proceeded to Fort Cumberland and took com-

mand of the troops there; went on from Fort Cumberland to Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's river, September 24th; and thence returned to Alexandria, where he arrived October 2d. Proceeding thence he was at Fredericksburg, October 5th, on his way to Williamsburg, and went forward on the 7th. He continued on to Colonel Baylor's and was there overtaken by an express messenger with information of a massacre of settlers by Indians. After a letter to the governor, he hurried back to Fredericksburg, and wrote again to Dinwiddie, as follows, October 8, 1755:

"I arrived at this place in less than three hours after I wrote you from Colonel Baylor's; and some small time after, arrived also Colonel Stephen, who gives a worse account than he related in his letter; but as he is the bearer of this, I shall be less prolix, referring to him for particulars.

"I shall set out this evening for Winchester, where I expect to be joined by the recruits from Alexandria and this place, as soon as they can possibly march that distance; also, by 100 men from Prince William and Frederick [counties]. And I have written to Fairfax county, desiring that a troop of horse may hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning. So that I doubt not, but with the assistance of these, I shall be able to repulse the enemy, if they are still committing their outrages upon the inhabitants. We are at a loss for a want of almost every necessary. Tents, kettles, arms, ammunition, cartridge-paper, etc., etc., we are distressed for. Therefore, I hope, as your Honor did not send to Philadelphia for them, you will, if possible, endeavor to get them below, and send them by the first opportunity to this place, or Alexandria, with orders that they may be forwarded immediately to Winchester.

"I must again take the liberty of mentioning to your Honor the necessity there is of putting the militia, when they are drawn out into actual service, under better regulation than they are at present, as well as there is of putting us under a military law. Otherwise we shall only be a burdensome charge to the country, and the others will prove its ruin. That this may not appear an unmeaning expression, I shall refer your Honor to Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen, who can give you some late proofs of their disobedience and inconsistent behavior.

"I find I cannot possibly be in Williamsburg, as these affairs will engage some time, till the 6th, 7th, or 8th of November, when I should be glad to meet a committee, in order to settle with them and your Honor some points that are very necessary for the good of the expedition.

"Colonel Stephen has orders to receive some money below (if he can), that we may be enabled to pay the troops, and to keep them in spirits, and to answer such immediate charges as cannot be dispensed with, until I come down. And I should be glad if your Honor would order him to repair therewith (as soon as he has done his business with the committee) to Winchester; and from thence, with a proper guard to Fort Cumberland. I hope the treasury will have a sufficient sum of money prepared against I come down, that I meet with no great delay.

"I should be glad your Honor would give Colonel Stephen all the assistance you can in getting the money. There are about 70 recruits at this place, and I left 25 at Alexandria, which I suppose are augmented before this by officers, who, I am sorry to say, have paid slight regard to orders, in not being in at the time appointed (Oct. 1st). The most flagrant proof of this is Captain Harrison, whom I have heard nothing of, though he had positive orders to be here at the aforesaid time."

The matter of securing Indians to fight Indians, Indian allies of the English to oppose to the murdering savages set on against the English by the French, very particularly engaged the attention of Washington. He wrote from Winchester, October 10, 1755, to Andrew Montour, a man of note in dealings with the Indians on the Ohio, the following letter:

"Dear Montour

"I wrote, some time ago, a letter of invitation from Fort Cumberland, desiring yourself, your family, and friendly Indians, to come and reside among us, but that letter not coming to hand, I am induced to send a second express, with the same invitation, being pleased that I have it in my power to do something for you on a better footing than ever it has been done. I was greatly enraptured when I heard you were at the head of 300 Indians on a march toward Venango, being satisfied that your hearty attachment to our glorious cause, your courage, of which I have had very great proofs, and your presence among the Indians, would animate their just indignation to do something noble, something worthy themselves, and honorable to you. I hope you will use your interest (as I know you have much) in bringing our Brothers once more to our service; assure them, as you truly may, that nothing which I can do shall be wanting to make them happy; assure them, also, that as I have the chief command, I am invested with power to treat them as Brethren and Allies, which, I am sorry to say, they have not been of late. Recommend me kindly to our good friend, Monocatoocha, and others; tell them how happy it would make Conotocaurius to have an opportunity of taking them by the hand at Fort Cumberland, and how glad he would be to treat them as Brothers of our Great King beyond the waters. Flattering myself

that you will come, I doubt not but you'll bring as many of them with you as possible, as that will afford Me what alone I want; that is, an opportunity of doing something equal to your wishes.

"I am, Dear Montour, your real friend and assured humble servant.

"N. B. I doubt not but you have heard of the ravages committed on our frontiers by the French Indians, and, I suppose, the French themselves. I am now on my march against them, and hope to give them cause of repenting of their rashness."

To another frontiersman, Gist, Washington gave instructions to visit Montour and use his utmost influence with him to induce him to bring in Indians for service against the French Indians. To Gist he wrote: "I will promise if he brings many to do something handsome for him. You had better be silent on this head though, lest where you are measures may be taken by the Pennsylvanians to prevent him from bringing any Indians."

On Oct. 11th, Washington wrote at length on the state of things with the people on the frontier and in the army which he was trying to get together and to march with to the scene of the disturbances and perils. Thus he said:

"Honorable Sir: As I think it my indispensable duty to inform you particularly of my proceedings, and to give the most plain and authentic account, from time to time, of our situation, I must acquaint your Honor that, immediately after giving the necessary orders at Fredericksburg, and despatching expresses to hurry the recruits from Alexandria, I rode post to this place, passing by Lord Fairfax's, who was not at home, but here, where I arrived yesterday about noon, and found everything in the greatest hurry and confusion, by the back inhabitants flocking

in, and those of the town removing out, which I have prevented as far as it was in my power. I was desirous of proceeding immediately, at the head of some militia, to put a stop to the ravages of the enemy, believing their numbers to be few; but was told by Colonel Martin, who had attempted to raise the militia for the same purpose that it was impossible to get above 20 or 25 men, they having absolutely refused to stir, choosing, as they say, to die with their wives and families.

" Finding this expedient likely to prove abortive, I sent off expresses to hurry the recruits from below, and the militia from Fairfax, Prince William, etc., which Lord Fairfax had ordered out, and I also hired spies to go out and see, to discover the numbers of the enemy, and to encourage the rangers, who, we were told, are blocked up by the Indians in small fortresses. But, if I may offer my opinion, I believe thev are more encompassed by fear than by the enemy.

" I have also impressed wagons and sent them to Conococheague, for flour, musket-shots, and flints, powder, and trifling quantity of paper, bought at extravagant prices, for cartridges. I expect from below six or eight smiths who are now at work, repairing the firearms that are here, which are all that we have to depend on. A man was hired, the 24th of last month, to do the whole, but neglected and was just moving off in wagons to Pennsylvania. I impressed his wagons and compelled him by force to assist in this work. In all things I meet with the greatest opposition. No orders are obeyed, but what a party of soldiers, or my own drawn sword, enforces; without this a single horse, for the most urgent occasion, cannot be had, to such a pitch has the insolence of these people arrived, by having every point hitherto submitted to them. However, I have given up none, where

his Majesty's service requires the contrary, and where my proceedings are justified by my instructions; nor will I do it, unless they execute what they threaten, *i. e.*, 'to blow out my brains.'

"I have invited the poor distressed people (driven from their habitations) to lodge their families in some place of security, and to join our parties in scouring the woods where the enemy lie, and believe some will cheerfully assist. I also have taken and shall continue to take every previous step to forward the march of the recruits, etc., so soon as they arrive here, and your Honor may depend that nothing that is in my power to do shall be wanting for the good of the service.

"I would again hint the necessity of putting the militia under a better regulation, had I not mentioned it twice before, and a third time may seem impertinent; but I must once more beg leave to declare, (for here I am more immediately concerned,) that, unless the Assembly will enact a law to enforce the military law in all its parts, that I must, with great regret, decline the honor that has been so generously intended me, and for this only reason I do it — the foreknowledge I have of failing in every point that might justly be expected from a person invested with full power to exert this authority. I see the growing insolence of the soldiers, the indolence and inactivity of the officers, who are all sensible how confined their punishments are, in regard to what they ought to be. In fine, I can plainly see, that under our present establishment we shall become a nuisance, an insupportable charge to our country, and never answer any one expectation of the Assembly.

"And here I must assume the freedom to express some surprise, that we alone should be so tenacious of our liberty as not to invest a power where interest and politics

so unanswerably demand it, and from whence so much good must consequently ensue. Do we not see that every nation under the sun find their account therein, and without it no order, no regularity can be observed? Why then should it be expected from us, (who are all young and inexperienced,) to govern and keep up a proper spirit of discipline without laws, when the best and most experienced can scarcely do it with them? Then if we consult our interest, I am sure it is loudly called for; for I can confidently assert, that money expended in recruiting, clothing, arming, maintaining, and subsisting soldiers, who have deserted, has cost the country an immense sum, which might have been prevented, were we under restraints that would terrify the soldiers from such practices.

"One thing more on this head I will recommend, and then quit the subject; *i. e.* to have the inhabitants liable to certain heavy fines, or corporal punishments, for entertaining of deserters, and a reward for taking them up. If this was done it would be next to an impossibility for a soldier to escape; but, on the contrary, as things now stand, they are not only seduced to run away, but are also harbored, and assisted with every necessary means to do it.

"Sunday Noon.— Last night arrived an express, just spent with fatigue and fear, reporting that a party of Indians were about 12 miles off, at the plantation of one Isaac Julian, and that the inhabitants were flying in the most promiscuous manner from their dwellings. I immediately ordered the town guards to be strengthened; Perkins's lieutenant to be in readiness with his companies; some recruits, who had only arrived about half an hour before, to be armed; and sent two men, well acquainted with the roads, to go up that road and lay in wait, to see if they could discover the number and motion of the In-

dians, that we might have timely notice of their approach. This morning, before we could parade the men, to march upon the last alarm, arrived a second express, ten times more terrified than the former, with information that the Indians had got within four miles of the town, and were killing and destroying all before them, for that he himself had heard constant firing and shrieks of the unhappy murdered. Upon this I immediately collected what force I could, which consisted of 22 men recruited for the rangers and 19 of the militia, and marched directly to the place where these horrid murders were said to be committed. When we came there, whom should we find occasioning all this disturbance but three drunken soldiers of the light-horse, carousing, firing their pistols, and uttering the most unheard of imprecations! These we took and marched prisoners to town [Winchester], where we met the men I sent out last night, and learned that the party of Indians, discovered by Isaac Julian, proved to be a mulatto and negro, seen hunting of cattle by his child, who alarmed the father, and the father the neighborhood. These circumstances are related only to show what a panic prevails among the people; how much they are alarmed at the most usual and customary cries; and yet how impossible it is to get them to act in any respect for their common safety. As an instance of this — Colonel Fairfax, who arrived in town when we were upon a scout, immediately sent to a noble captain, not far off, to repair with his company forthwith to Winchester. With coolness and moderation this great captain answered that his wife, family, and corn were all at stake; so were his soldiers; therefore it was impossible for him to come. Such is the example of the officers; such the behavior of the men; and upon such circumstances depends the safety of our country!"

The date of the continuance of this communication the next day shows that Washington began it Sunday morning, and went on with it Sunday noon. He went on further the next morning as follows:

"Monday morning, 12th — The men I hired to bring intelligence from the Branch returned last night, with letters from Captain Ashby, and the other parties there; by which I learn that the Indians are gone off; scouts having been dispersed upon those waters for several days, without discovering tracks or other signs of the enemy.

"I am also informed that it is believed their numbers amounted to about 150; that 70 of our men are killed and missing, and that several houses and plantations are destroyed, but not so great havoc made as was represented at first. The rangers, and a small company of militia, ordered there by Lord Fairfax, I am given to understand, intend to march down on Monday next, who will be immediately followed by all the inhabitants of those parts, that had gathered together under their protection. I have, therefore, sent peremptory orders to the contrary, but what obedience will be paid to them a little time will reveal. I have ordered those men, that were recruited for the rangers, to join their respective companies. And there is also a party of militia marched with them under the command of Captain Harden. Captain Waggener is this instant arrived with 30 recruits, which he marched from Bellhaven in less than three days — a great march indeed! Major Lewis and his recruits from Fredericksburg I expect in tomorrow, when, with these and 22 of Captain Bell's now here, I shall proceed by quick marches to Fort Cumberland, in order to strengthen that garrison. Besides these, I think it absolutely necessary that there should be two or three companies (exclusively) of rangers, to guard the Potomac waters until such time as our regiment

is completed. And, indeed, these rangers and volunteer companies in Augusta (county) with some of their militia, should be properly disposed of on these frontiers, for fear of an attack from that quarter. This though is submitted to your honor's judgment, and waits your orders for execution if thought expedient.

"Captain Waggener informs me, that it was with difficulty he passed the Ridge for the crowds of people who were flying as if every moment was death. He endeavored, but in vain, to stop them; they firmly believing that Winchester was in flames. I shall send expresses down the several roads in hopes of bringing back the inhabitants, who are really frightened out of their senses. I despatched an express immediately upon my arrival at this place, with a copy of the enclosed to Andrew Montour, who I heard was at a place called Long Island with 300 Indians, to see if he could engage him and them to join us. The letter savors a little of flattery, etc., etc., but this, I hope, is justifiable on such occasions. I also wrote to Gist, acquainting him with the favor you intended him, and desired he would repair home in order to raise his companies of scouts (he having been commissioned Captain of a company of scouts).

"I shall defer writing to the Speaker and Committee upon any other head than that of commissary, still hoping to be down by the time mentioned in my last (provided no new disturbances happen,) having some points to settle that I am uneasy and urgent about. I have been obliged to do duty very foreign to my own; but that I shall never hesitate about, when the good of the service requires it.

"In a journey from Fort Cumberland to Fort Dinwiddie, which I made purposely to see the situation of our frontiers, how the rangers were posted and how troops might

be disposed of for the defense of the country, I purchased 650 beeves, to be delivered at Fort Cumberland by the 1st of November, at 10 shillings per hundred weight, except a few that I was obliged to give eleven shillings for; and have my own bonds now out for the performance of covenants, this being the commissary's business, who, I am sorry to say, has hitherto been of no use, but of disservice to me, in neglecting my orders, and leaving this place without flour, and Fredericksburg without any provisions for the recruits, although he had timely notice given. I must beg that, if Mr. Dick will not act, some other person may be appointed that will; for, if things remain in this uncertain situation, the season will pass without having provision made for the winter, or summer's campaign. Whoever acts as commissary should be sent up immediately about salting the provisions, etc. It will be difficult, I believe, to provide a quantity of pork. I enquired as I rode through Hampshire, Augusta, etc., and could not hear of much for sale.

"Most of the new appointed officers have been extremely deficient in their duties by not repairing to their rendezvous according to appointment. Capt. McKenzie, Lieut. King and Ensigns Miller and Dean, who were ordered to send their recruits to Alexandria by the first of October, were not arrived when Capt. Waggener left that place, nor have we heard anything of Capt. Harrison, whose recruits should have been at Fredericksburg by the same time; and Capt. Bell only sent his here on Saturday last. If these practises are allowed of, we may as well quit altogether, for no duty can ever be carried on if there is not the greatest punctuality observed, one thing always depending so immediately upon another.

"I have appointed Capt. George Mercer (whose seniority entitled him to it) my aide-de-camp; and Mr. Kirk-

patrick of Alexandria, my secretary, a young man bred to business, of good character, well recommended, and a person of whose abilities I had not the least doubt.

"I hope your Honor will be kind enough to despatch Colonel Stephen, with orders to repair hither immediately, and excuse the prolixity of this. I was willing to give a circumstantial account of our situation, that you may be the better enabled to judge what orders are necessary to give."

"Winchester, Oct. 13, 1755: Major Lewis is just arrived, and on Thursday I shall begin my march to Fort Cumberland, allowing the recruits one day to refresh themselves."

Either the same day or the next Washington issued the following "Advertisement" to warn people not to give way to panic fear so far as to forsake their homes and leave their plantations to go to ruin:

"Advertisement.— Whereas divers timorous persons run through the country and alarm its inhabitants by false reports of the Indians having attacked and destroyed the country — even Winchester itself, and that they are still proceeding:

"This is to give notice to all people, that I have great reason to believe that the Indians who committed the late cruelties (though no lower than the South Branch) are returned home, as I have certain accounts that they have not been seen nor heard of these ten days past. And I do advise all my countrymen not to be alarmed on every false report they may hear, as they must now be satisfied, from the many false ones that have been made; but to keep to their homes, and take care of their crops, as I can ventured to assure them that in a short time the frontiers will be so well guarded that no mischief can be done, either to them or their plantations, which must of course

be destroyed, if they desert them in so shameful a manner."

The views of Washington in regard to maintenance of a good hold upon Indians not engaged by the French, he expressed in a letter of October 17, 1755, to Governor Dinwiddie:

"Last night by the return of the express, who went to Capt. Montour, I received the enclosed from Mr. Harris at Susquehanna. I think no means should be neglected to preserve what few Indians still remain in our interest. For which reason I shall send Mr. Gist, as soon as he arrives (which I expect will be to-day), to Harris's Ferry, in hopes of engaging and bringing with him the Belt of Wampum and other Indians that are at that place. I shall further desire him to send an Indian express to Andrew Montour, to try if he cannot be brought with them.

"In however trifling a light the French attempting to alienate the affections of our southern Indians may at first appear, I must look upon it as a thing of the utmost consequence, that requires our greatest and most immediate attention. I have often wondered at not hearing this was attempted before, and had it noted among other memorandums to acquaint your Honor with when I should come down.

"The French policy in treating with the Indians is so prevalent, that I should not be in the least surprised, were they to engage the Cherokees, Catawbas, etc., unless timely and vigorous measures are taken to prevent it. A pusillanimous behavior now will ill suit the times; and trusting to traders and common interpreters, who will sell their integrity to the highest bidder, may prove the destruction of these affairs. I therefore think that if a person of distinction, acquainted with their language is to be found,

his price should be come to at any rate. If no such person can be had, a man of sense and character, to conduct the Indians to any council that may be held, or superintend any other matters will be found extremely necessary. It is impertinent, I own, in me to offer my opinion in these affairs, when better judges may direct; but my steady and hearty zeal for the cause, and the great impositions I have known practised by the traders, etc., upon these occasions would not suffer me to be quite silent. I have heard from undoubted authority, that some of the Cherokees, who have been introduced to us as Sachems and Princes by this interpreter, who shares the profits, have been no other than common hunters, and bloodthirsty villains.

"We have no accounts yet of the militia from Fairfax, etc. This day I marched with about one hundred men to Fort Cumberland. Yesterday an express informed me of eighty odd recruits at Fredericksburg, which I have ordered to proceed to this place; but, for want of that regularity being observed by which I should know where every officer, etc., is, my orders are only conditional, and always confused. The commissary is much wanted; therefore I hope your Honor will send him up immediately; if not, things will greatly suffer here. Whatever necessaries your Honor gets below I should be glad to have sent to Alexandria; from whence they are much more handy than from Fredericksburg. Besides, as provision is lodged there, and none at any other place, it will be better for the men, to be *all* sent there that can anyways conveniently. For we have met with insufferable difficulties at Fredericksburg, and in our march from thence, through neglect of the commissary, who is greatly wanted up here. Therefore, I hope your Honor will order him."

After the journey to Fort Cumberland, and returning

from Williamsburg to headquarters at Winchester, Washington was at Fredericksburg, and there wrote, November 18, 1755, to Lieut.-Col. Adam Stephen:

"I came to this place on Sunday last, and intended to proceed immediately up; but receiving yours and other letters contradicting the reports lately transmitted, determined me to go to Alexandria, where I shall wait a few days, hoping to meet the express from General Shirley, to whom the Governor sent for commissions for the field officers.

"I beg that you will be particularly careful in seeing strict order observed among the soldiers, as that is the *life* of military discipline. We now have it in our power to enforce obedience [through a military law recently passed by the Assembly of the colony]; and obedience will be expected from us, the men being subject to death as in military law. The Assembly have also offered a reward to all who will apprehend deserters, and a severe punishment upon those who shall entertain or suffer them to pass; also upon any constable who refuses to convey them to the company or troop to which they belong, or shall suffer them to escape after such deserters are committed to his custody.

"These things, with the articles of war and a proper exhortation, I would have you read immediately to the men, and see that it is frequently done hereafter. I must desire that you will use all possible means to facilitate the salting our provisions, and give the commissary such assistance of men, etc., as he shall reasonably require. The Governor approves of the committee's resolve, in not allowing either the Maryland or Carolina companies to be supported out of our provisions. This you are to make them acquainted with, and, in case any of the companies should be discharged to use your utmost endeavors

to enlist as many of the men as you can. Lieutenant McManners has leave to go to Carolina if he desires it. The Assembly would make no alteration in our militia law; nor would the Governor order them to be drafted to complete our regiment, so that the slow method of recruiting is likely to be our only means to raise the men. I think, could a brisk officer, and two or three sergeants, be sent among the militia stationed on the South Branch, they would have a probable chance of engaging many, as some were inclinable in Winchester to list. Doctor Craik is expected round to Alexandria in a vessel, with medicines and other stores for the regiment. So soon as he arrives, I shall take care to despatch him to you.

"The Colonels Byrd and Randolph [members of the Governor's Council and gentlemen of distinction] are appointed commissioners [to visit and conciliate the southern Indians], and will set out very shortly, with a present, etc., to the country of the Cherokees, in order to engage them to our interest."

To the same officer Washington wrote again November 28, 1755, from Alexandria:

"I received your two letters by Jenkins last night, and was greatly surprised to hear that Commissary Walker was not arrived at camp when he came away. He set out from Williamsburg about the 12th instant, with orders to proceed immediately up; but such disobedience of commands, as I have generally met with, is insufferable, and shall not go unpunished. The account you enclosed of the method of receiving the beef, I suppose is customary; but for want of judgment in those affairs, I can neither applaud nor condemn it. I am as much astonished as you were surprised at the quantity of salt said to be wanted for the provision, but certain it is, that if it, or a greater quantity, is necessary, it must be had. I have

left a discretionary power in Commissary Walker to kill or winter the Carolina beeves as the interest of the service requires. Pray assist him with your advice, and urge him on to make the necessary purchases of flour and pork in time.

"The Governor did not seem inclinable to promote the removal of the fort; however, the Committee have lodged a discretionary power in my hands, and have resolved to pay for all extraordinary labor. I would, therefore, have as little labor lost at Fort Cumberland as possible; at least until I come up, which will be very shortly, my stay here being only for a few days, in order to receive recruits, and hurry up the stores to Winchester.

"I believe those who say Governor Sharpe [of Maryland] is to command, can only wish it. I do not know that Governor Shirley [at Boston, in chief command for the King's regular troops in America] has a power to appoint a chief to our forces,—to regulars he may. As to that affair of turning the storehouse into a dwelling-room, I do not know what better answer to give than saying that this is one among the many instances that might be offered of the inconvenience of having a fort in Maryland. As soon as I hear from Gov. Shirley, which is hourly expected, I can give a more determined answer.

"There has been such total negligence among the recruiting officers in general, such disregard of the service they were employed in, and such idle proceedings, that I am determined to send out none until we all meet, when each officer shall have his own men, and have only this alternative, either to complete his number or lose his commission. There are several officers who have been out six weeks, or two months, without getting a man, spending their time in all the gayety of pleasurable mirth, with their relations and friends; not attempting, nor having a

possible chance of recruiting any but those who, out of their inclination to the service, will proffer themselves.

"I should be glad to have ten or twelve wagons sent to this place, for salt enough may be had here to load that number, and it comes upon easier terms than at Fredericksburg, by sixpence or eightpence per bushel. Those stores at Watkins Ferry should be hurried up as fast as the water affords opportunities, if it were only to prevent disputes.

"If the paymaster is at Winchester, and not on his way to Fort Dinwiddie, order him down here immediately. If he should be going with pay to Captain Hogg [whose unpaid men had mutinied], he is to proceed with despatch; but if he is at Fort Cumberland, order him down to Winchester, to wait there until I arrive."

December 5, 1755, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Alexandria:

"I have sent the bearer, Captain John Mercer (who has accounts to settle with the Committee), to the Treasurer for the balance of that £10,000; and to acquaint your Honor, that, meeting with letters at Fredericksburg, informing me that all was peaceable above, and that nothing was so immediately wanting as salt, I got what I could at that place, and hastened on here to engage more, to receive the recruits expected in, and to wait the arrival of the vessel with arms, etc., from James River, in order to forward them up with the greater despatch. The vessel is not yet arrived.

"I have impatiently expected to hear the result of your Honor's letter to Governor Shirley, and wish that the delays may not prove ominous. In that case, I shall not know how to act; for I can never submit to the command of Captain Dagworthy, since you have honored me with the command of the Virginia regiment, etc.

"The country has sustained inconceivable losses, by delaying the commissaries at Williamsburg. Many of the beeves are dead, through absolute poverty, and the chief part of them too poor to slaughter. We are at a loss how to act, for want of the mutiny bill; and should be obliged to your Honor, if you will have fifty or a hundred printed, and sent by the bearer. There is a clause in that bill, which, if you are not kind enough to obviate it, will prevent entirely the good intention of it, that is, delaying the execution of sentences, until your Honor shall be made acquainted with the proceedings of the court. This, at times when there is the greatest occasion for examples, will be morally impossible; I mean, when we are on our march, perhaps near the Ohio, when none but strong parties can pass with safety. At all times it must be attended with great expense, trouble, and inconveniency. This I represented to Col. Corbin, and some other gentlemen of the Council, when I was down, who said that the objection would be removed, by your Honor's giving blank warrants, to be filled up as occasion should require. This would effectually remedy all those evils, and put things in their proper channel.

"We suffer greatly for want of kettles; those sent from below, being tin, are of short duration. We shall also, in a little time, suffer as much for the want of clothing; none can be got in these parts; those which Major Carlyle and Dalton contracted to furnish we are disappointed of. Shoes and stockings we have, and can get more if wanted, but nothing else. I should be glad your Honor would direct what is to be done in these cases; and that you would be kind enough to desire the treasurer to send some part of the money in gold and silver. Were this done we might often get necessaries for the regiment in Maryland,

or Pennsylvania, when they cannot be had here. But with *our* money it is impossible; our paper not passing there.

"The recruiting service goes on extremely slow. Yesterday being a day appointed for rendezvousing at this place, there came in ten officers with twenty men only. If I had any other than paper money, and you approved of it, I would send to Pennsylvania and the borders of Carolina. I am confident men might be had there. Your Honor never having given any particular directions about the provisions, I should be glad to know, whether you would have more laid in than what will serve for 1200 men, that I may give orders accordingly.

"As I cannot now conceive that any great danger can be apprehended at Fort Cumberland this winter, I am sensible that my constant attendance there cannot be so serviceable as riding from place to place, making the proper dispositions, and seeing that all our necessaries are forwarded up with despatch. I therefore think it advisable to inform your Honor of it, hoping it will correspond with your own opinion.

"I forgot to mention when I was down, that Mr. Livingston, the Fort Major, was appointed adjutant to our regiment. I know of none else whose long servitude in a military way had better qualified for the office. He was appointed the 17th of September.

"Captain Mercer's pay as aid-de-camp seems yet doubtful. I should be glad if your Honor would fix it; as so is Captain Stewart's. If Captain Stewart's is increased, I suppose all the officers belonging to the light-horse will expect to have theirs augmented also. Colonel Stephen, in a late letter, discovered an inclination to go to the Creek and Cherokee Indians this winter. I told him where to apply, if he had any such thoughts. I believe, on so useful a business, he might be spared until the spring. If your

Honor think proper to order the Act of Assembly for apprehending deserters, and against harboring them, to be published every Sunday in each parish church, until the people are made acquainted with the law, it would have a very good effect. The commonalty in general err more through *ignorance* than *design*. Few of them are acquainted that such a law exists, and there is no other certain way of bringing it to their knowledge. There are a great many of the men that did once belong to our companies, deserted from the regiments into which they were drafted, that would now gladly return, if they could be sure of indemnity. If your Honor would be kind enough to intimate this to General Shirley, or the colonels of those regiments, it would be of service to us. Without *leave*, we dare not receive them."

December 28, 1755, Washington wrote from Winchester to Lieut.-Col. Adam Stephen:

"Captain John Mercer only returned last night from Williamsburg, and brings no satisfactory answers to anything I questioned the Governor upon.

"The express, that was sent to General Shirley, is returned without seeing him; however, the Governor writes that he expects answers to his letters by Colonel Hunter, who is now at New York, and waits the arrival of the General at that place. The Governor is very strongly of the opinion, that Captain Dagworthy has no right to contend for the command; and in his letter he says, after mentioning the return of the express, and his expectancy of satisfactory letters, 'But I am of opinion you might have obviated the inconsistent dispute with Captain Dagworthy, by asking him if he did not command a provincial company by virtue of Governor Sharpe's commission; as that he had formerly from his Majesty *now* ceases, as he is not on the half-pay list; if so, the method you are to take

is very obvious, as your commission from me is greater than what he has.' And in Williamsburg, when I was down there, both he and Colonel Fitzhugh told me, that Dagworthy could have no more pretensions to command me, or either of the field-officers of the Virginia regiment, than we have to command General Shirley; and further gave it as their opinion, that as Dagworthy's was only a botched-up commission at best, and as he commanded a provincial company, and by virtue of a governor's commission, that he ought to be arrested for his presumption. They say, allowing his commission from the King to be valid, yet, as he is not there by order of his Majesty, he can have no better pretensions than a visiting half-pay officer, who transiently passes through the camp, to assume the command.

"I wish you would sound him on this head, and hear how he will answer these things, and let me know when you come down, which I desire may be immediately, as I want much to consult you upon several accounts. The paymaster and commissary (if he is not very much engaged) must accompany you. Desire both to have their accounts settled, and brought with them, as that is necessary before I can give more money.

"I have sent you one of the mutiny bills which I received from below, but I think, indeed I believe it is absolutely necessary, as we still want the power, to postpone trials until after your return. Also desire all the officers who have received money for recruiting, to make up their accounts immediately; and charge for no more men than have actually been received at the several rendezvous. Allowance will be made for no others. The arrears of pay for these officers and soldiers who have not received for the months of January and February, are immediately to be made out, and sent down by you with the recruiting ac-

counts. Desire them to charge for no men but what are present, as I can pay for no others now.

"Enclosed is a commission for Captain Waggener, which I have neglected giving before; so long as I have had it. Desire him, as the command upon your leaving the place will devolve upon him, to be very circumspect in his duty, and to see that the troops are duly drawn out and trained to their exercise, and practised to bush-fighting."

To Governor R. H. Morris, of Pennsylvania, Washington wrote from Winchester, January 5, 1756:

"I am sorry it has not been in my power to acknowledge the receipt of yours until now. At the time that your letter came to Winchester, I was at Williamsburg; before I got back it was conveyed thither; and so from place to place has it been tossing almost till this time.

"There is nothing more necessary than good intelligence to frustrate a designing enemy, and nothing that requires greater pains to obtain. I shall, therefore, cheerfully come into any measures you can propose to settle a correspondence for this salutary end; and you may depend upon receiving (when the provinces are threatened) the earliest and best intelligence that I can procure.

"I sympathized in general concern to see the inactivity of your province in a time of eminent danger; but am pleased to find, that a feeling sense of wrongs has roused the spirit of your martial Assembly to vote a sum which, with your judicious application, will turn to a general good.

"We took some pretty vigorous measures to collect a force upon our frontiers upon the first alarm, which has kept us peaceable ever since. How long this may last is uncertain, since that force, which were militia, are disbanded, and the recruiting service almost stagnated.

"If you propose to levy troops, and their designation is not a secret, I should be favored were I let into the scheme,

that we may act conjointly, so far as the nature of things will admit.

"Pray direct to me at Alexandria, to which place I design to go in about ten days from this."

In communicating to the officers of the Virginia regiment the fact that an officer had been tried by court-martial and suspended, Washington made this address, January 8, 1756:

"This timely warning of the effects of misbehavior will, I hope, be instrumental in animating the younger officers to a laudable emulation in the service of their country. Not that I apprehend any of them can be guilty of offences of this nature; but there are many other misdemeanors, that will, without due circumspection, gain upon inactive minds, and produce consequences equally disgraceful.

"I would, therefore, earnestly recommend, in every point of duty, willingness to undertake, and intrepid resolution to execute. Remember that it is the *actions*, and not the commission, that make the officer, and that there is more expected from him than the *title*. Do not forget that there ought to be a time appropriated to attain this knowledge, as well as to indulge pleasure. And as we now have no opportunities to improve from example, let us read for this desirable end. There are Bland's and other treatises which will give the wished-for information.

"I think it my duty, gentlemen, as I have the honor to preside over you, to give this friendly admonition; especially as I am determined, as far as my small experience in service, my abilities, and interest of the service may dictate, to observe the strictest discipline through the whole economy of my behavior. On the other hand, you may as certainly depend upon having the strictest justice administered to all, and that I shall make it the most agreeable

RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM CONCORD.

part of my duty to study merit, and reward the brave and deserving. I assure you, gentlemen, that partiality shall never bias my conduct, nor shall prejudice injure any; but, throughout the whole tenor of my proceedings, I shall endeavor, as far as I am able, to reward and punish, without the least diminution."

January 14, 1756, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Alexandria:

"Major Lewis, being at Winchester when your letter came to hand, was immediately despatched to Augusta, to take upon him the command of the troops destined against the Shawnese Town; with orders to follow such directions as he should receive from you. This scheme, though, I am apprehensive will prove abortive, as we are told that those Indians are removed up the river, into the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne.

"I have given all necessary orders for training the men to a proper use of their arms, and the method of Indian fighting, and hope in a little time to make them expert. And I should be glad to have your Honor's express commands, either to prepare for taking the field, or for guarding our frontiers, in the spring, because the steps for these two are very different. I have already built two forts on Patterson's Creek, which have engaged the chief of the inhabitants to return to the plantations; and have now ordered Captain Waggener with 60 men to build and garrison two others, on places I have pointed out high up on the South Branch, which will be a means of securing near a hundred miles of our frontiers, exclusive of the command at Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's river. And, indeed, without a much greater number of men than we have a visible prospect of getting, I do not see how it is possible to think of passing the mountains, or acting more than defensively. This seems to be the full determination

of the Pennsylvanians; so that there can be no hope of assistance from that quarter. If we only act defensively, I would most earnestly recommend the building of a strong fort at some convenient place in Virginia, as that in Maryland, not to say anything of its situation, which is extremely bad, will ever be an eyesore to this colony, and attended with more inconvenience than it is possible to enumerate. One instance of this I have taken notice of, in a letter that accompanies this, and many more I could recite, were it necessary.

"If we take the field there is no time to carry on a work of this kind, but we should immediately set about engaging wagons, horses, forage, pack-saddles, etc. And here I cannot help remarking, that I believe it will be impossible to get wagons or horses sufficient, without the old score is paid off; as the people are really ruined for want of their money, and complain justly of their grievances.

"I represented in my last the inconveniences of the late act of Assembly, which obliges us first to send to your Honor for a commission to hold general courts-martial, and then to delay execution until a warrant can be had from Williamsburg; and I hope you will take the thing into consideration. We have several deserters now on hand, whom I have taken by vigorous measures, and who should be made examples to others, as this practice is continued with greater spirit than ever.

"Unless clothing is soon provided, the men will be unfit for any kind of service. And I know of no expedient to procure them, but by sending to the northward, as cloth cannot be had here. I left, among other returns, an exact account of the clothing at every place, when I was in Williamsburg. I shan't care to lay in provisions for more than 1000 men, unless I have your Honor's orders. We have put out such of the beeves as were unfit for

slaughtering. If they survive the winter they may be useful in the summer.

"Ensign Polson having received a commission in Colonel Gage's regiment, makes a vacancy here which, with your approbation, will be filled by Mr. Dennis McCarthy, whom you once appointed a captain. He has continued a volunteer ever since, and has recruited several men into the service, and I hope your Honor will allow me the liberty, as you once promised me, of filling up the vacancies as they happen, with the volunteers, who serve with that expectation. We have several with us, that seem to be very deserving young gentlemen. I shall observe the strictest justice in promoting them according to their merit, and their time of entering the service I have ordered Capt. Hog to render immediately a fair account to the company of the money sent him. He was ordered to lay in provisions for only 12 months. Capt. Stewart has recruited his complement of men. I should be glad to know whether he is to complete his horse against the spring and provide accoutrements.

"I have been obliged to suspend Ensign Dekeyser for misbehavior until your pleasure is known. See the proceedings of the enquiring courts. His character in many other respects has been infamous. I have also been obliged to threaten, in your name, the new appointed officers with the same fate if they are not more diligent in recruiting the companies, as each received his commission upon those terms. Capt. Mercer comes down for more money and to satisfy how the £10,000 has been applied.

"The skipper of the vessels has embezzled some of the stores; but for want of a particular invoice of them, we cannot ascertain the loss. He is kept in confinement until your Honor's pleasure is known."

Under the same date Washington wrote again to Gov. Dinwiddie from Alexandria:

"When I was down the Committee among other things resolved, that the Maryland and Carolina companies should not be supported with our provisions. This resolve (I think) met with your approbation; upon which I wrote to Colonel Stephen, desiring him to acquaint Captain Dagworthy thereof, who paid slight regard to it, saying it was in the King's garrison, and all the troops had an equal right to draw provisions with us, by his order as commanding officer, and that we, after it was put there, had no power to remove it without his leave. I should, therefore, be glad of your Honor's peremptory orders what to do in this case, as I do not care to act without instructions, lest it should appear to proceed from pique and resentment at having the command disputed. This is one among the numberless inconveniences of having the fort in Maryland. Captain Dagworthy, I dare venture to affirm, is encouraged to say this by Governor Sharpe, who we know has wrote to him to keep the command. This Captain Dagworthy acquainted Colonel Stephen of himself. As I have not yet heard how General Shirley has answered your Honor's request, I fear the success, especially as it is next to an impossibility (as Governor Sharpe has been there to plead Captain Dagworthy's cause) by writing to make the General acquainted with the nature of the dispute. The officers have drawn up a memorial to be presented to the General, and, that it may be properly strengthened, they humbly beg your solicitation to have us (as we have certain advices that it is in his power) put upon the establishment. This would at once put an end to contention, which is the root of evil, and destructive to the best of

operations; and turn all our movements into a free, easy channel.

"They have urged it in the warmest manner to me, to appear personally before the General for that end, which I would, at this disagreeable season, gladly do, things being thus circumstanced, if I had your permission; which I more freely ask, since I am determined to resign a commission, which you were generously pleased to offer me, (and for which I shall always retain a grateful sense of the favor), rather than submit to the command of a person, who, I think, has not such superlative merit to balance the inequality of rank, however he adheres to what he calls his right, and in which I know he is supported by Governor Sharpe. He says, that he has no commission from the province of Maryland, but acts by virtue of that from the King; that this was the condition of his engaging in the Maryland service; and when he was sent up there the 1st of last October, was ordered by Governor Sharpe and Sir John St. Clair not to give up his right. To my certain knowledge his rank was disputed before General Burgoyne, who gave it in his favor; and he accordingly took place of every captain upon the expedition, except Capt. James Mercer and Capt. Rutherford, whose commissions were older than his; so that I should not by any means choose to act, as your Honor hinted in your last, lest I should be called to an account myself.

"I have, during my stay above (at Winchester) from the 1st of December to this, disposed of all the men and officers (that are not recruiting and can be spared from the fort) in the best manner I can for the defence of the inhabitants, and they will need no further orders till I could return. And the recruiting officers are allowed till the first of March to repair to their rendezvous, which leaves at present nothing to do at the Fort, but to train

and discipline the men, and prepare and salt the provisions. For the better perfecting both these, I have left full and clear directions.

"Besides, in other respects, I think my going to the northward might be of service, as I should thereby, so far as they thought proper to communicate, be acquainted with the plan of operations, especially the Pennsylvanians', so as to act, as much as the nature of things would admit, in concert.

"If you think proper to comply with my request, I should be glad of any letters, such as you think would enforce the petition to the General, or any of the Governors in my way there."

Two weeks later, February 1, 1756, Washington wrote from Alexandria to Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen:

"Looking upon our affairs at this crtical juncture to be of such importance, and having a personal acquaintance with General Shirley, which I thought might add some weight to the strength of our memorial, I solicited leave, which is obtained, to visit him in person, and accordingly set out in two days for Boston, having procured letters, etc., from the Governor, which was the result of a Council for the purpose called. You may depend upon it, I shall leave no stone unturned for this salutary end; and, I think, if reason, justice, and every other equitable right can claim attention, we deserve to be heard.

"As I have taken the fatigue, etc., of this tedious journey upon myself, (which I never thought of until I had left Winchester), I hope you will conduct everything in my absence for the interest and honor of the service. And I must exhort you in the most earnest manner to strict discipline and due exercise of arms.

"You may tell Mr. Livingston from me, that, if the soldiers are not skilled in arms equal to what may reason-

ably be expected, he most assuredly shall answer it at my return. And I must ingenuously tell you, that I also expect to find them expert at bush-fighting.

"The Governor seems determined to make the officers comply with the terms of getting their commissions, or forfeit them, and approves of Dekeyser's suspension, and orders that he shall not be admitted into the camp. He seems uneasy at what I own gives me much concern, *i. e.*, that gaming seems to be introduced into the camp. I am ordered to discourage it, and must desire that you will intimate the same.

"Things not being rightly settled for punishing deserters according to their crimes, you must go on in the old way of *whipping stoutly*."

To Governor Dinwiddie, Washington wrote from Alexandria, February 2, 1756:

"I can but return my hearty thanks for your kind condescension in suffering me to wait upon General Shirley, as I am very well assured it was done with the intention to favor my suit.

"There is as yet an unanswerable argument against our taking the field, which I forgot to mention in my last; that is, the want of a train of artillery, and, what is full as necessary, engineers to conduct the affair, if we hope to approach Fort Duquesne. By the advices, which we have received hitherto from the northward, the Pennsylvanians are determined to act defensively. For that purpose they have posted their new raised levies upon their frontiers at different passes, and have received the additional strength and favor of a detachment or two from the regulars. I have ordered, besides the forts that are built and are now building, that a road which I had reconnoitred, and which proves nearer and better, to be immediately opened for the more easy transportation of stores, etc.,

from Winchester to Fort Cumberland; so there is not the least fear of the soldiers being corrupted through idleness."

After explaining that the commission for calling general courts-martial did not empower the commander to act without first receiving an order from the Governor to do so, Washington further said:

"I have always, so far as it was in my power, endeavored to discourage gaming in the camp; and always shall so long as I have the honor to preside there.

"I cannot help observing that your Honor, if you have not seen the clothing lately sent up, has been imposed upon by the contractors, for they are really unfit for use; at least, will soon be so."]

The chronic difficulty of the old contest between royal and provincial officers had not yet been laid. At Fort Cumberland a royally commissioned officer, Captain Dagworthy, with a small company of Maryland militia, refused obedience to the Virginia provincial commander-in-chief, and according to the King's order in the case of royal and provincial officers, he even claimed precedency in rank. The commander appealed to Governor Dinwiddie but could not induce him to take decisive measures in the case, and the Governor of Maryland actually sustained the claim of Dagworthy. To settle this annoying and embarrassing dispute Washington, at the request of his officers, with the approval of Governor Dinwiddie and with commendatory letters from him (Feb. 4, 1756), repaired to Boston to General Shirley, who then was Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in America. It was now midwinter, but attended by Captain Mercer, who was his aide, and by Captain Stewart, he performed the journey of 500 miles on horseback.

General Shirley's decision on the subject was ready and

positive. He issued an order requiring Captain Dagworthy to yield obedience to the Virginia commander. Washington he received in the kindest manner, and he acquainted him with the details of his plan of the next season's campaign.

The journey to Boston by way of Philadelphia, New York, and other principal cities, little as such results could have been anticipated or could be desired by sticklers for the superiority of royal commissions, essentially contributed to Washington's celebrity, influence, and knowledge of affairs. In less than two months' time he was again engrossed with measures for repelling intrusions of the French and for staying depredations and incursions of the savages, which had become frequent and very daring.

[Washington left Alexandria for Boston, February 4, 1756. He was in Philadelphia on the 8th, where the old campaigner, Gist, had found reason the autumn before to write to him: "Your name is more talked of in Philadelphia than that of any other person in the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command." The *New York Mercury* of February 16th recorded his arrival in New York on the 15th, and on the 26th he had left for Boston on the Friday previous, the 25th. He passed through New London, Newport, and Providence, and was in Boston February 27th–March 10th. He was in New York on the return March 14th; was in Philadelphia March 17th; and March 23d was at Alexandria, to resume his duties as Commander-in-Chief on the frontier. April 7, 1756, he wrote from Winchester to Governor Dinwiddie:

"I arrived here yesterday, and think it advisable to despatch an express to inform you of the unhappy situation of affairs in this quarter. The enemy have returned in greater numbers, committed several murders not far

from Winchester, and even are so daring as to attack our forts in open day, as your Honor may see by the enclosed letters and papers. Many of the inhabitants are in a miserable situation by their losses, and so apprehensive of danger that, I believe, unless a stop is put to the depredations of the Indians, the Blue Ridge will soon become our frontier.

"I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do what I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, etc., on this part of our frontiers, and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that 500 Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which

reason, I own, I do not think it unworthy the notice of the legislature to compel the inhabitants (if a general war is likely to ensue, and things to continue in this unhappy situation for any time), to live in townships, working at each others farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thickly settled parts of the country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties, and large ones could not subsist without provisions."

To Speaker Robinson, Washington also wrote:

"If the *fears* of the people do not magnify *numbers*, those of the enemy are not inconsiderable. They have made many ineffectual attempts upon several of our forts, destroyed cattle, burned plantations, and this in defiance of our smaller parties, while they dexterously avoid the larger. Our detachments, by what I can learn, have sought them diligently, but the cunning and vigilance of Indians in the woods are no more to be conceived, than they are to be equalled by our people. Indians are only match for Indians; and without these, we shall ever fight upon unequal terms. I hope the Assembly since they see the difficulty of getting men by enlistment, will no longer depend upon that uncertain way of raising them, but make each of the lower Counties furnish its full proportion."

The work of the recruiting officers for the whole winter had only secured 600 men. In the letter to Dinwiddie of April 7th, Washington went on to say:

"It seemed to be the sentiment of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of forts should be erected upon our frontiers, for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations."

The House had voted in the spring session to erect a chain of forts beginning at Harry Enochs, on Great

Cape-capon, in the county of Hampshire, and extending to the south fork of Mayo-river in Halifax county, the number and distance from each other to be such as the governor or the commander-in-chief of the colony should think necessary."

After a reference to Major Lewis's expedition, intended to reach the Indian Shawanes Town, but prevented by the state of the rivers, swollen by heavy rains and melting snow, Washington goes on to say:

"It was an expedition, from which, on account of the length of the march down, I always had little expectation of, and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are returned, with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel foes to our country.

"I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an express to them immediately for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope your Honor will order Major Lewis to secure his guides, as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct. Such offences as those should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing villains.

"Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis, who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. M. Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and

two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the Monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit."

The Assembly had offered, in August, 1755, a reward of £10 for every scalp of a male Indian above the age of twelve. This reward was increased to £15 in April, 1757, and a further sum of £30 for each scalp taken within the next two years. Maryland had, in September, 1756, made the reward for an Indian scalp £50.

The letter to Dinwiddie continues:

"Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their instructions, where orders are given to *burn*, if possible, our magazine at Conococheague, a place that is in the midst of a thickly settled country."

The orders in question were given by Dumas, who had succeeded Contrecœur as French commandant at Fort Duquesne. In translation they read as follows: "Fort Duquesne, March 23, 1756. The Sieur Douville, at the head of a detachment of 50 savages, is ordered to go and observe the motions of the enemy in the neighborhood of Fort Cumberland. He will endeavor to harass their convoys, and burn their magazines at Conococheague, should this be practicable. He must use every effort to take prisoners, who may confirm what we already know of the enemies designs. The Sieur Douville will employ all his talent and all his credit to prevent the savages from committing any cruelties on those who may fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought, in this respect, to serve as our guide."

These last words Mr. W. C. Ford says, "at least give a

favorable indication of the commandant's humanity," the fact having been that the words in no way operated to hold the hand of savage massacre, and most manifestly were neither intended nor expected to have any such result. Washington's letter goes on to say of the threatened magazine:

"I have ordered the party there to be made as strong as time and our present circumstances will afford, for fear they should attempt to execute the orders of Dumas. I have also ordered up an officer and 20 recruits to assist Joseph Edwards, and the people on those waters (the Great Cacapehon). The people of this town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack, and all the roads between this and Fort Cumberland are much infested. As I apprehend you will be obliged to draft men, I hope care will be taken that none shall be chosen but active, resolute men,— men, who are practised to arms, and are marksmen.

"I also hope that a good many more will be taken than what are requisite to complete our numbers to what the Assembly design to establish; as many of those we have got are really in a manner unfit for duty; and were received more through necessity than choice; and will very badly bear a re-examination. Another thing I would beg leave to recommend; and that is, that such men as are drafted, should be only taken for a time, by which means we shall get better men, and which will in all probability stay with us."

"I think it not amiss," Washington said in a letter to Speaker Robinson, "that they should serve only 18 or 20 months, and then be discharged. Twenty months will embrace two full campaigns, which will, I apprehend, bring matters to a crisis one way or another."

In a letter of April 9, 1756, to Governor Morris, of

Pennsylvania, Washington related the success of the party which encountered Douville with his detachment of savages, and then went on to say:

"The accident that has determined the fate of M. Douville has, I believe, dispersed his party, for I don't hear of any mischief done in this colony since, though we are not without numbers who are making hourly discoveries.

"I have sent you a copy of the instructions that were found about this officer, that you may see how bold and enterprising the enemy have grown, how unconfined are the ambitious designs of the French, and how much it will be in their power (if the Colonies continue in their fatal lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty and property.

"Nothing I more sincerely wish than *a Union to the Colonies* in this time of eminent danger, and that you may find your Assembly in a temper of mind to act consistently with their preservation. What Maryland has done or will do, I know not, but this I am certain of, that *Virginia will do everything that can be expected to promote the public good.*

"I went to Williamsburg fully resolved to resign my commission, but was disuaded from it at least for a time.

"P. S. A letter this instant arriving from Williamsburg informs that our Assembly have voted £20,000 more, and that their forces should be increased to 2000 men. A laudable example this, and I hope not a singular one."

In a letter of April 10, 1756, Governor Sharpe of Maryland said to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, who was British Commander-in-Chief for America:

"The enclosed letter I am desired to forward to your Excellency from Colonel Washington, and to request you to commission and appoint him second in command, in case these colonies shall raise a sufficient number of troops for carrying on an expedition or making a diversion to

the westward this summer. As Mr. Washington is much esteemed in Virginia, and really seems a gentleman of merit, I should be exceedingly glad to learn that your Excellency is not averse to favoring his application and request."

To John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Washington wrote from Winchester, April 16, 1756:

"When I wrote you last, I was in high hopes of being by this time at the head of a large party scouring the Alleghany Hills. But the timidity of the inhabitants of this county is to be equalled by nothing but their perverseness. Yesterday was the time appointed for all to meet who were inclined to join for this desirable end, and only 15 came, some of whom refused to go but upon terms such as must have rendered their services burthensome to the country. Therefore, I am again reduced to the necessity of waiting the arrival of a party from Fort Cumberland before I can leave this place. There has been no mischief done since I wrote you last, which I attribute in some measure to the frequent parties I have ordered out in pursuit of the enemy. Yesterday I received an account which made me suspect that the Indians rendezvoused upon the back of the Warm Spring Mountain. I have, therefore, sent orders to an officer who is out with a party of 100 men, to proceed thither with the best guides he can procure, and search that mountain well; which, if the intelligence be true, I hope he will render a good account of them.

"Nothing, Sir, equals the pleasure I felt at hearing of the generous supplies the Assembly have voted. But to find that the men and money which they have given are properly disposed of, and that the men are formed for the service of the country, and not to make commissions to serve individuals, I have sent the Governor a plan or

scheme, of which you have a copy; to form the 2000 men into one regiment, consisting of two battalions, of ten companies each; with five field officers each having a company, and every company to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, and 87 private men: which will save the country the annual expense of £5006 16s. and 8d., as you may see by the enclosed. And we at the same time be better appointed, and established more after the British custom than we now are, or shall be if formed into two regiments, or one regiment with only 50 men in a company. The difference, £5006 16s. 8d., would go a great length either in clothing, or defraying incident charges of the regiment. Another difference is that of giving the field officers companies, which is practised in all parts of the world but this, and here discontinued evidently to the disadvantage of the country, as the field officers who have no companies are allowed in the same proportion as if they had, and three captains are paid to do this duty.

"I have made bold, Sir, to offer my opinion freely, and if it meets with the approbation of your House, I should be glad if you would help it into execution. Otherwise, as I am sensible the Governor may be strongly importuned for commissions, he may good-naturedly grant them without considering how manifest an injury it will be to the country and service in general.

"As I am convinced that no other method can be used to raise 2000 men, but by drafting, I hope to be excused when I again repeat, how great care should be observed in choosing active marksmen. The manifest inferiority of inactive persons, unused to arms, in this kind of service, although equal in numbers, to lively persons who have practised hunting, is inconceivable. The chance against them is more than two to one. Another thing I hope will

merit the consideration of the Assembly, and that is, that they will put all such men as are raised for the expedition in actual pay, and under the same discipline that ours are at present; otherwise, I am very well convinced their good intentions will prove abortive, and all the drafts quit the service as soon, or before, they are brought into it.

"I do not conceive it to be a hardship to put even drafts under martial law, if they are only taken for a certain time, which I could wish to be the case, as I thereby hope for better men."

To Governor Dinwiddie in this connection Washington wrote:

"I have a brother that has long discovered an inclination to enter the service, but has till this been dissuaded from it by my mother, who now, I believe, will give consent. I must, therefore, beg that, if your Honor should issue any new commission before I come down, you will think of him and reserve a Lieutenancy. I flatter myself that he will endeavor to deserve it as well as some that have, and others that may get (commissions)."

April 18, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester to Dinwiddie:

"It gave me infinite concern to find in yours by Governor Innes, that any representations should inflame the Assembly against the Virginia regiment, or give cause to suspect the morality and good behavior of the officers. (Dinwiddie had reported "that the Assembly were greatly inflamed, being told that the greatest immoralities and drunkenness have been much countenanced and proper discipline neglected"). How far any of the individuals may have deserved such invidious reflections, I will not take it upon me to determine, but *this* I am certain of, and can call my conscience, and what, I suppose, will be a still more demonstrable proof in the eyes of the world, my

orders, to witness how much I have, both by threats and persuasive means, endeavored to discountenance gaming, drinking, swearing, and irregularities of every other kind; while I have, on the other hand, practised every artifice to inspire a laudable emulation in the officers for the service of their country, and to encourage the soldiers in the unerring exercise of their duty. How far I have failed in this desirable end I cannot pretend to say. But it is nevertheless a point, which does in my opinion merit some scrutiny, before it meets with a final condemnation. Yet I will not undertake to vouch for the conduct of many of the officers, as I know there are some who have the seeds of idleness very strongly engrafted in their natures; and I also know that the unhappy difference about the command, which has kept me from Fort Cumberland, has consequently prevented me from *enforcing* the orders which I never failed to *send*.

"However, if I continue in the service, I shall take care to act with a little more vigor than has hitherto been practised, since I find it so necessary.

"I wrote your Honor in my last how unsuccessfully we attempted to raise the militia, and that I was reduced to the necessity of waiting here the arrival of an escort from Fort Cumberland.

"The garrison at Fort Cumberland is barely manned. The rest are out on parties; yet the Indians continue to hunt the roads, and pick up straggling persons."

On the next day Washington further wrote to Dinwiddie:

"Since writing my letter of yesterday's date, the enclosed came to hand, by which your Honor will be informed of a very unlucky affair (a skirmish with the Indians at Edwards's Fort, in which Captain J. Mercer and several of his party were killed).

"I immediately consulted Governor Innes, and such officers of my regiment as were at this place, on the necessary steps to be taken. They unanimously advised that I should remain here with the 50 recruits that are in town, for the defence of the place, until the militia be raised, that we may thereby be enabled to compose a formidable body and march out against the enemy. This engagement happened within 20 miles of Winchester, and the sergeant, who brought the letter, assures me that they have reason to imagine, that their numbers are greater than the letter informs. He says that there were many French amongst them, and that the chief part of the whole were mounted on horseback; so that there is a great probability that they may have a design upon this place.

"I have sent an express to Lord Fairfax, with a copy of Stark's letter, and have desired, in the most earnest manner, that he will be expeditious in calling the militia; but, alas! that is an unhappy dependence; yet the only one we have at present."

"Washington's old friend, Lord Fairfax," says Irving, had "found himself no longer safe in his rural abode. Greenway Court was in the midst of a woodland region, affording a covert approach for the stealthy savage. His lordship was considered a great chief, whose scalp would be an inestimable trophy for an Indian warrior. Fears were entertained, therefore, by his friends, that an attempt would be made to surprise him in his greenwood castle. His nephew, Colonel Martin of the militia, who resided with him, suggested the expediency of a removal to the lower settlements, beyond Blue Ridge. The high-spirited old nobleman demurred; his heart cleaved to the home which he had formed for himself in the wilderness. 'I am an old man,' said he, 'and it is of little importance whether I fall by the tomahawk or die of disease and old

age; but you are young, and, it is to be hoped, have many years before you, therefore decide for us both; my only fear is, that if we retire, the whole district will break up and take to flight; and this fine country, which I have been at such cost and trouble to improve, will again become a wilderness.'

"Colonel Martin took but a short time to deliberate. He knew the fearless character of his uncle, and perceived what was his inclination. He considered that his lordship had numerous retainers, white and black, with hardy huntsmen and foresters to rally round him, and that Greenway Court was at no great distance from Winchester; he decided, therefore, that they should remain and abide the course of events."

To Lord Fairfax, April 19th, Washington wrote:

"Unless I can throw some ammunition into Edwards's Fort to-night, the remainder of our party, and the inhabitants that are there, will more than probably fall a sacrifice to the Indians, as the bearer, who came off with the enclosed, assures me that the fort was surrounded, and that an assault was expected to-day."]

They had waylaid and massacred scouting parties. They had attacked forts. In a skirmish they had routed a party of Americans and had killed Captain Mercer. They had also slain other military officers, and they had robbed and murdered occupants of villages and plantations but a few miles from large towns, and even within twenty miles of the Commander-in-Chief's headquarters at Winchester.

The whole frontier of Virginia for the distance of more than 350 miles was exposed to the encroachments of the savages. And the sufferings of the settlers, throughout that range of border territory, were peculiarly afflictive at this crisis. Their once happy homes were now haunted by continual apprehensions of scenes of blood. While at the

plough or while gathering the fruits yielded by their orchards or gardens they were liable to be surprised by the demoniac red man, seen coming at a distance, or discovered lurking behind trunks of trees, or crouching in high grass and among underwood. The cheerful harvest song of the borderer might, at any moment, be interrupted and hushed by the Indian whoop or yell. And the engaging pictures of rural domestic life, afforded by the mother at her spinning-wheel or in her household duties, her children in their gleeful sports, and her infant in the cradle, might suddenly be transformed into tragic scenes of blood, which none but fiends in the human form could have the heart to create or could look upon without remorse.

At the signal of Indians coming the borderers would sometimes be able to flee unharmed, but it was to surrender life's comforts and often common necessaries. They might resort for protection, as they frequently did, to stockade forts, but there, surrounded by their pursuers, they were generally reduced to extreme thirst and hunger, and on attempting to escape for their lives, were hunted down and slain. And to these evils were added those of captivity and torture, for the fierce and bloodthirsty red man of the woods seizes ruthlessly and indiscriminately men, women, children, and even tender babes, and, not content with slaughter, delights at times in protracted merciless cruelty, and exults at shrieks of anguish extorted from his victims.

The want of suitable legislative measures providing for this state of things was felt and lamented. Unfurnished with the necessary men and means for defense the commander-in-chief appealed to Governor Dinwiddie in touching terms. In one of his appeals he uses these glowing words: "Your honor may see to what unhappy straits the distressed inhabitants and myself are reduced. I am too little acquainted, sir, with pathetic language, to attempt a

description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul sensible of wrongs and swelling for redress. But what can I do? If bleeding, dying! would glut their insatiate revenge, I would be a willing offering to savage fury, and die by inches to save a people. I *see* their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light that unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts must unavoidably fall while the remainder are fleeing before the barbarous foe.

"In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuse cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting upon me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kinds, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining honor and reputation in the service, cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honor or benefit, but on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here!

"The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease.

["Lord Fairfax has ordered men from the adjacent counties, but when they will come, or in what numbers, I cannot pretend to determine. If I may judge from the suc-

cess we have met with here, I have but little hopes, as three days incessant endeavors have produced but 20 men.

"I have too often urged my opinion for vigorous measures; therefore I shall only add, that, besides the accounts you will receive in the letters, we are told from all parts that the woods seem to be alive with Indians, who feast upon the fat of the land. As we have not more than a barrel or two of powder at this place (Winchester), the rest being at Fort Cumberland, I could wish your Honor would send some up. I have written to Alexandria and Fredericksburg, desiring that two barrels may be sent from each place, but whether there is any at either, I know not. I have sent orders to Captain Harrison to be diligent on the waters where he is posted, and to use his utmost endeavors to protect the people; and, if possible, to surprise the enemy at their sleeping places Ashby's letter is a very extraordinary one (reporting that 400 Indians had demanded the surrender of his fort, 1500 had gone to Fort Cumberland and 2000 to the Juniata). The design of the Indians was only, in my opinion, to intimidate him into a surrender. For which reason I have written him word, that if they do attack him, he must defend that place to the last extremity, and when he is bereft of hope, then to lay a train to blow up the fort, and retire by night to Fort Cumberland. A small fort, which we have at the mouth of Patterson's Creek, containing an officer and 30 men guarding stores, was attacked smartly by the French and Indians; they were as warmly received, upon which they retired. Our men at present are dispersed into such small bodies, guarding the people and public stores, that we are not able to make, or even form a body."]*

His heartfelt concern for the people's welfare could not

* Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, April 22, 1756.

find utterance in words more glowing. He was willing to surrender his life for their sake. Yet at the very period when thus, in the spirit of the Roman Decii, he was indulging intense emotions of self-sacrifice, his feelings were subjected to a severe torture. A plot was formed to effect his removal from his post. Numerous reports to the discredit of the army, the officers, and the commander, were industriously circulated through the columns of a newspaper.

The keen sensibilities of the commander were of course deeply wounded, especially as the authors of the libelous reports did not meet with prompt rebukes in his behalf. Indulging the noble independence of his mind he thought of at once resigning his commission. This was the secret hope of his calumniators. But it was doomed to bitter disappointment. The faction which sought by means of his retirement and of their favor with their Scotch countryman, Governor Dinwiddie, to gain rank and emolument, was detected and rewarded to the full measure with deserved obloquy, and Colonel Washington gave free utterance to such sentiments as the occasion demanded and caused his merits to shine with increased luster. Robinson, the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, said: "Our hopes, Dear George, are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue. Consider of what fatal consequences to your country your resigning the command at this time may be; more especially as there is no doubt that most of the officers would follow your example. I hope you will allow your ruling passion, the love of your country, to stifle your resentment at least till the arrival of Lord Loudoun, or the meeting of the Assembly, when you may be sure of having justice done. Who those of your pretended friends are who give credit to the malicious reflections in that scandalous libel I assure you I

am ignorant; and I do declare that I never heard any man of honor or reputation speak the least disrespectful of you, or censure your conduct, and there is no well-wisher of his country that would not be greatly concerned to hear of your resigning."

An affectionate friend wrote to him: "You cannot but know that nothing but want of power in your country has prevented it from adding every honor and reward that perfect merit could have entitled itself to. How are we grieved to hear Col. George Washington hinting to his country that he is willing to retire! Give me leave, as your most intimate friend, to persuade you to forget that anything has been said to your dishonor; and recollect that it could not have come from any man that knew you. And as it may have been the artifice of one in no esteem among your countrymen to raise in you such unjust suspicions as would induce you to desert the cause that his own preferment might meet with no obstacle, I am confident you will endeavor to give us the good effects, not only of duty but of great cheerfulness and satisfaction in such a service. No, sir; rather let Braddock's bed be your aim than anything that might discolor those laurels which I promise myself are kept in store for you."*

Another friend wrote: "From my constant attendance in the House (of Burgesses), I can with great truth say, I never heard your conduct questioned. Whenever you are mentioned, it is with the greatest respect. Your orders and instructions appear in a light worthy of the most experienced officer. I can assure you that a very great majority of the House prefer you to any other person."

Colonel William Fairfax, a member of the Governor's council, thus eloquently appealed to him: "Your endeavors in the service and defense of your country must redound

* Letter from Landon Carter.

to your honor; therefore do not let any unavoidable interruptions sicken your mind in the attempts you may pursue. Your good health and fortune are the toast of every table. Among the Romans, such a general acclamation and public regard, shown to any of their chieftains, were always esteemed a high honor and gratefully accepted."*

[Sparks says of this plot against Washington: "The Governor, being a Scotchman, was surrounded by a knot of Caledonian friends, who wished to profit by this alliance, and obtain for themselves a larger share of consideration than they could command in the present order of things. The discontented, and such as thought their merits undervalued, naturally fell into this faction. To create dissatisfaction in the army, and cause the officers to resign from disgust, would not only distract the counsels of the ruling party, but make room for new promotions. Colonel Innes, the governor's favorite, would ascend to the chief command, and the subordinate places would be reserved for his adherents. Hence false rumors were set afloat, and the pen of detraction was busy to disseminate them. Stories were circulated to the disparagement of the army, charging the officers with gross irregularities and neglect of duty, and indirectly throwing the blame upon the commander. A malicious person filled a gazette with tales of this sort, which seemed for the moment to receive public countenance. But the artifice was easily seen through, and its aims were defeated, by the leaders on the patriotic side, who looked to Colonel Washington as a pillar of support to their cause."]

These powerful appeals addressed to the noble and generous mind of Washington could not fail of success. He continued in his office. And he was even cheered to pursue its duties with increased alacrity.

* Letter to Washington.

At this time (1756) the Assembly resolved to increase the army to 1,500 men and to establish a line of twenty-three forts which, extending from the Potomac to North Carolina, would constitute a frontier defense for about 300 miles. But this, in the opinion of the commander, was an inadequate provision for the existing exigency. He urged the House of Burgesses to increase the army to 2,000 men. He pointed to the great extent of the frontier to be protected; he pointed to the forts which required to be garrisoned; and he pointed to the inhabitants of the border country retiring before the enemy until they were about even to cross the Blue Ridge.

The powerful eloquence of his appeal was not without effect. There prevailed a general and intense feeling. The Burgesses requested the Governor to summon half the militia of the adjoining counties to co-operate in meeting the fearful emergency. And the Attorney-General, Mr. Peyton Randolph, in the ardor of his military zeal on the occasion, formed a company of 100 gentlemen to act as volunteers in the approaching campaign. His conduct was an expressive indication of the spirit of the times. But the measure which he adopted was evidently far more creditable to his heart than to his head. Judge Marshall, alluding to the incident, very judiciously observes "Ten well-trained woodsmen or Indians would have rendered more service."

The House of Burgesses' scheme to establish a line of forts from the Potomac to North Carolina was disapproved of by the Governor. Washington, also, for reasons which he assigned, preferred a few strong to many feeble garrisons; yet in obedience to the Assembly's will he planned and constructed the proposed military works. In doing this however he encountered many and perplexing annoyances, arising chiefly from Governor Dinwiddie's exer-

cise of his prerogative in military matters, and from the Governor of Maryland's deranging the Virginia Assembly's plans.

To provide effectually for relief from all existing evils Washington sent a full narrative of the state of things to the Earl of Loudoun, who had succeeded General Shirley as commander-in-chief, and was then at New York. It was the first intention of Lord Loudoun to go to Virginia. This intention however he did not fulfill. But he held at Philadelphia a meeting of the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia. Washington, who was present at the meeting, was favorably regarded by the Governors in their consultations.

It was his wish that the Virginia troops should be put upon the regular establishment and that he and his officers should hold royal commissions. In this wish however he was disappointed; yet, by an arrangement agreeable to him, he and all the provincial officers not comprehended in the northern army, were to conduct their operations under the general orders of Colonel Stanwix, an accomplished British officer stationed in the interior of Pennsylvania, and appointed Commander-in-Chief of the middle and southern provinces.

The thoughts of the Governors were directed particularly toward Canada and the northern lakes, and they resolved to take no offensive measures in the South. Fort Cumberland, being situated in Maryland, they agreed to commit to that province's keeping. The defense of Virginia against savages was to be provided for by Colonel Stanwix.

It was a welcome communication which Washington received from Governor Dinwiddie, instructing him to look to the British colonel for orders. "Colonel Stanwix," said the Governor, "being appointed commander-in-chief, you

must submit to his orders without regard to any you may receive from me; he being near the place can direct affairs better than I can."

The intercourse of Washington with this accomplished military officer was always of the most agreeable nature. Colonel Stanwix was a gentlemen of education and refinement. He was promoted in the year 1758 to the rank of brigadier-general, and, being sent to an important post at the head of boat navigation on the Mohawk, he built a fort there, called, in honor of his name, Fort Stanwix. This military work, afterward called Fort Schuyler, was greatly celebrated during the Revolutionary War.

[The extraordinary interest and importance of the passage in Washington's life covering his military service on the frontiers to the west and northwest of Virginia, are very inadequately shown by any narrative of the general facts, without large reproduction of his own account of particulars. The interest, in fact, of what he said, in various letters and elaborate communications, far exceeds that of anything that was done, and it is most surprising that no story of the years 1756 and 1757, in his own words, has ever been attempted. That story we add here as of the greatest importance for knowledge of Washington at 24 and 25 years of age.

April 24, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester to Governor Dinwiddie:

"Not an hour, nay scarcely a minute passes, that does not produce fresh alarms and melancholy accounts; so that I am distracted what to do. Nor is it possible for me to give the people the necessary assistance for their defense, upon account of the small number we have, or are likely to be here for some time. The inhabitants are removing daily, and in a short time will leave this county as desolate as Hampshire, where scarce a family lives.

"Three families were murdered the night before last within 12 miles from this place; and every day we have accounts of such cruelties and barbarities as are shocking to human nature. Nor is it possible to conceive the situation of this miserable country. Such numbers of French and Indians are all around, no road is safe to travel; and *here* we know not the hour how soon we may be attacked.

"I have written for the militia of Fairfax, Prince William, and Culpeper (counties), and expect them here in a very few days. But how they are to be supplied with ammunition and provision, I am quite at a loss. The distance of Fort Cumberland from us, where these supplies are, renders them useless, in a manner, and puts us to the greatest straits; and the inhabitants leaving their farms will make it impossible for the militia to subsist without provisions, which are *now* very scarce, and will be more so. I should therefore be glad your Honor would send up arms, ammunition, and provisions, and give immediate orders for the Irish beef at Alexandria, which cannot be had without your consent.

"Your Honor spoke of sending some Indians to our assistance, in which no time should be lost, nor means omitted to engage all the Catawbas and Cherokees that can possibly be gathered together, and immediately dispatched hither. For without Indians to oppose Indians, we may expect but small success. And I should think it no bad scheme, (while the Indians remain here in such numbers,) to have a detachment sent out with some friendly Indians to make an attempt upon their towns,—though this should be executed with all imaginable secrecy.

"I have been just now informed, that numbers about the neighborhood hold councils and cabals to very dishonorable purposes, and unworthy the thoughts of a Brit-

ish subject. Despairing of assistance and protection from below (as they foolishly conjecture), they talk of capitulating and coming upon terms with the French and Indians, rather than lose their lives and fortunes through obstinacy. My force, at present, is very weak, and unable to take the necessary measures with those suspected; but, as soon as the militia arrive, be assured I will do my utmost to detect and secure such pests of society, if my information is not groundless, which I should be pleased to find so."

Reporting that a council of war had determined that "Enoch's" fort should be abandoned and that all of the garrison possible to be spared at Fort Edwards should march to Winchester; and also that there had been a fight with the French and Indians at Fort Hopewell, on the South Branch, with the waters so high that assistance could not be sent,— Washington added:

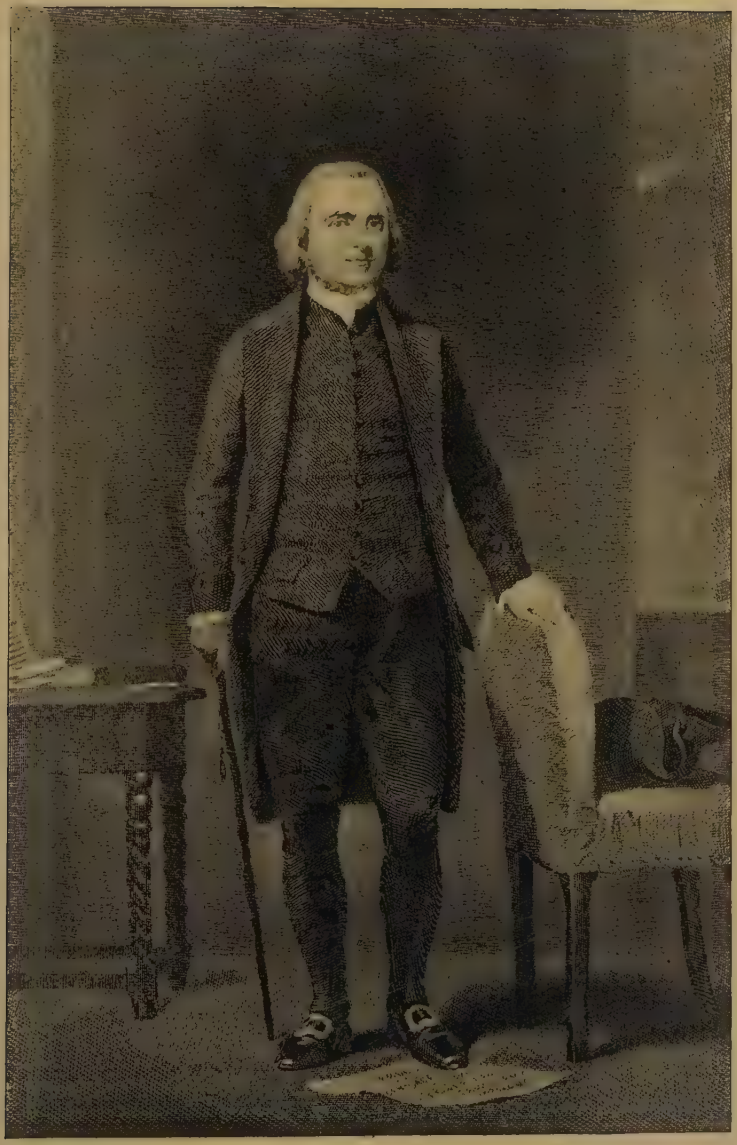
"From these and other circumstances, you may form but a faint idea of the wretched and unhappy situation of this country, nor can it be conceived.

"My extreme hurry, confusion, and anxiety must plead an excuse for incorrectness, &c."

To John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, an ardent friend, and the recognized political chief of the colony, Washington wrote the same day, from Winchester:

"The deplorable situation of this people is no more to be described than my anxiety and uneasiness for their relief. And I see in so clear a light the inevitable destruction of this county without immediate assistance, that I cannot look forward but with the most poignant sorrow.

"You may expect, by the time this comes to hand, that, without a considerable reinforcement, Frederick county will not be mistress of fifteen families. They are



SAMUEL ADAMS.

now retreating to the securest parts in droves of fifties. In short, everything has too melancholy an appearance for pen to communicate. I have therefore sent an officer, whose good sense and judicious observations will be a more effectual way of transmitting an account of the people's distresses.

"I wish the Assembly had given 2000 men, instead of 1500, and that I had been acquainted with the dispositions they intended to make. Since I am ignorant of this, I hope it will not be thought presuming when I offer my sentiments upon the subject.

"We are, Sir, first to consider, that if a chain of forts is to be erected upon our frontiers, it is done with a design to protect the people. Therefore, if these forts are more than 15 and 18 miles, or a day's march, asunder, and garrisoned with less than 80 or 100 men each, the intention is lost, and for these reasons. 1st, if they are greater distances, it is inconvenient for the soldiers to scout, and allows the enemy to pass between without being easily discovered, and when discovered so soon pursued. And secondly, if they are garrisoned with less than 80 or 100 men each, the number will be too few to afford detachments. Then, again, our frontiers are so extensive, that, were the enemy to attack us on the one side, before the troops on the other could get to their assistance, they might overrun and destroy half the country. And it is more than probable, if they had a design upon the first, they would make a feint upon the other. Then we are to consider what sums the building of 20 forts would cost, and the removing stores and provisions to each; and in the last place, we are to consider where and when this expense is to end. For, if we do not endeavor to remove the cause, we are as liable to the same incursions seven years hence

as now, if the war continues, and they are allowed to remain on the Ohio.

"I shall next give the reasons, which I think make for a defensive plan. If the neighboring Colonies refuse us their assistance, we have neither strength or abilities of ourselves to conduct an expedition; or, if we had, and were the whole to join us, I do not see to what purpose, since we have neither a train of artillery, artillerymen, engineers, &c., to execute any scheme beyond the mountains against a regular fortress. Again, we have not, that I can see either stores or provisions, arms or ammunition, wagons or horses, in any degree proportioned to the service; and to undertake an affair, where we are sure to fall through, would be productive of the worst consequences, and another defeat would entirely lose us the interest of every Indian.

"If, then, we cannot act offensively with a prospect of success, we must be upon the defensive; and that there is no way to protect the people, or save ourselves, but by a chain of forts, is evidently certain.

"I would beg leave, in that case, to propose that there should be a strong fort erected at this place (Winchester) for a general receptacle of all the stores, &c., and a place of residence for the commanding officers, to be garrisoned with one company for the security of the stores, and to serve as escorts for all wagons that are going higher up, because it is the most public and most convenient for intelligence of any in the country, and the most convenient to the part that will ever be attacked by *numbers*, it lying directly on the road to Fort Duquesne, from whence, and their Indian allies, who are still higher up, we have the greatest reason to apprehend danger. It also lies convenient to the inhabitants for raising the militia when occasion requires.

"I have found by experience, that being just within the inhabitants is absolutely necessary to give orders for the defense of the people; and that Fort Cumberland is of no more use towards the defence of the country than Fort George at Hampton, and know as little what is doing, For the people so soon as they are alarmed, immediately fly towards, and at this time there is not an inhabitant living between here and Fort Cumberland, except a few settlements upon the Manor about a fort we built there, and a few families at Edwards's, on Cacapehon, with a guard of ours; which makes this very town at present the outmost frontiers, and though a place trifling in itself, is yet of the utmost importance, as it commands the communication from east to west, as well as from north to south; for at this place do almost all the roads center; and secures the great roads of one half of our frontiers to the markets of the neighboring colonies, as well as to those on Rappahannock and Potomack. At Fort Cumberland I would have one company garrisoned to secure the place, to procure the earliest intelligence, and to cover all detachments that may be sent towards the Ohio, which is all the use that it can ever be of. In the next place, I would propose, that a good fort should be erected between this and Fort Cumberland, which shall be in a line with the chain of forts across the country, and be garrisoned with two companies. This I would advise, because, as I before observed, if we are ever attacked by a large body, it must be here, as they have no other road to our frontiers, either to transport men or necessaries.

"These three forts that I have already spoken of will employ four companies, which will be a tolerable body, if the companies are large, which they would be according to the plan I sent you. And it would be a trifling expense to

augment each company to 100 privates, which will make 2000 exclusive of officers, which were included in the scheme last sent.

"After this is done, I would post the remaining companies equidistant, or at proper passes, along our frontiers, agreeable to the enclosed sketch, and order communications to be opened between fort and fort, and large detachments scouting to discover the tracks of the enemy.

"And now, Sir, one thing to add, which requires the Assembly's attention, and that is, in what vale, or upon what part of our frontiers these forts are to be built? For I am to tell you that the Great Ridge or North Mountain, so called in Evans's map, to which I refer, is now become our exterior bound, there not being one inhabitant beyond that on all the Potomack waters, except a few families on the South Branch, and at Joseph Edwards's, on Cacapehon, guarded by a party of ours. So that it requires some consideration to determine whether we are to build near this to protect the present inhabitants; or on the South Branch, or Patterson's Creek, in the hopes of drawing back those who have forsaken their dwellings.

"If we do not build there, that country will ever want settlers; and if we *do*, there is so great a blank, with such a series of mountains between, that it will be next to impossible to guard the people effectually. I could again wish that the Assembly had given 2000 men, exclusive of officers, to be formed into two battalions of ten companies each, with four field officers. Indeed, 1500 men are a greater number than ever was in a regiment of only one battalion, and they should be divided into two, with four field officers, who should be posted so as to have the immediate care of a certain number of forts, with orders to draw from one to another, as occasion should require.

"I could add more on this subject, but I am so hurried

that I am obliged to refer for further particulars to the bearer, who will tell you that, to carry on all these works, a number of tools, as well as many other necessaries, will be absolutely wanted.

"I have given my opinion with candor, and submit to correction with the greatest pleasure. Confusion and hurry must apoligize for the incoherence and incorrectness hereof."

In the same letter to Robinson, Washington said:

"I am sorry to hear the reflections upon the conduct of the officers. I could wish that their names had been particularized, that justice might be done to the innocent and guilty! for it is extremely hard, that the whole corps should suffer the most ungenteel reproaches for the inadvertence and misconduct of a few."

The orders of Washington were as strict as language could make them, and as severe in the penalties threatened as could be ventured. A soldier found drunk was liable to 100 lashes, and one presuming to quarrel or fight to 500 lashes,—a figure more meant for terror by threat than for execution.

April 27, 1756, in a second letter to Robinson, Washington added further observations on the defense of the frontiers by a chain of forts. Thus he said:

"If the province of Maryland makes no provision for its frontiers, we shall have a long, unguarded space quite open and defenceless from Wills Creek to the mouth of Shanandoah, where the enemy may have, and have already given proof of, free egress and regress in crossing Potomack; plundering, burning, murdering and destroying all before them. It is matter of moment, and worthy the Assembly's notice. For we must secure that weak side, if our neighbors are so indifferent as to disregard their own safety, because of its connexion with ours. In this

case the number of forts will be increased to two or three more. Another material point to be regarded by the Assembly, and of very great importance to the inhabitants, is the situation of these forts intended along the frontiers. As I mentioned to you before, placing them on the former utmost frontiers would be of small service to defend the present frontier settlements, now so remote from the former.

"I would again urge the necessity of a large and strong fort at this town. It being the center of all the public roads, it will be the sole refuge for the inhabitants upon any alarm. Had such a place of defence been here, it would have hindered some hundreds of families from moving further than this that are now lost to the country. The women and children might have been secure, while the men would have gone in a body against the savages, whereas the number of men now left is so small that no assistance or defence can be made to any purpose. Winchester is now the farthest boundary of this county — no inhabitants beyond it; and if measures are not taken to maintain it, we must retire below the Blue Ridge in a very short time. Should this panic and fear continue, not a soul will be left on this side the Ridge; and what now remain are collected in small forts (out of which there is no prevailing on them to stir) and every plantation deserted.

"I have exerted every power for the protection and peace of this distressed, unhappy people, and used my utmost to persuade them to continue, until assistance come, though to little effect. I have repeatedly urged Lord Fairfax to send for the militia of the adjacent counties, and have sent myself several expresses to hurry them on."

In pursuance of the urgent advice thus given, a fort

was ordered to be built at Winchester for the defense of Frederick county. Another letter of the same date (April 27, 1756), addressed to Governor Dinwiddie, Washington said:

"Desolation and murder still increase, and no prospects of relief. The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left in this county, except a few that keep close with a number of women and children in forts, which they have erected for that purpose. There are now no militia in this county; when there were they could not be brought to action. If the inhabitants of the adjacent counties pursue the same system of disobedience, the whole must fall an inevitable sacrifice; and there is room to fear they have caught the infection, since I have sent (besides divers letters to Lord Fairfax) express after express to hurry them on, and yet have no tidings of their march. We have the greatest reason to believe that the number of the enemy is very considerable, and as they are spread all over this part of the country; and that their success, and the spoils with which they have enriched themselves, dished up with a good deal of French policy, will encourage the Indians of distant nations to fall upon our inhabitants in greater numbers, and, if possible, with greater rapidity. They enjoy the sweets of a profitable war, and will no doubt improve the success which ever must attend their arms, without we have Indians to oppose theirs. I would therefore advise, as I often have done, that there should be neither trouble nor expense omitted to bring the few who are still inclined into our service, and that too with the greatest care and expedition. A small number, just to point out the wiles and tracks of the enemy, is better than none; for which reason I must earnestly recommend that those who accompanied Major Lewis should be immediately sent up, and such of the

Catawbas as can be engaged in our interest. If such another torrent as this has been, (or may be ere it is done,) should press upon our settlements, there will not be a living creature left in Frederick county; and how soon Fairfax and Prince William may share its fate is easily conceived, if we only consider a cruel and bloodthirsty enemy, conquerors already possessed of the finest parts of Virginia, plenteously filled with all kinds of provisions, pursuing a people overcome with fear and consternation at the inhuman murders of these barbarous savages.

"The inhabitants, who are now in forts, are greatly distressed for the want of ammunition and provision, and are incessantly importuning me for both; neither of which have I at this place to spare. To hear the cries of the hungry, who have fled for refuge to these places, with nothing more than they carry on their backs, is exceedingly moving.

"I have been formerly, and am at present, pretty full in offering my opinion and counsel upon matters which regard the public interest and safety. These have been solely the object of all my thoughts, words, and actions; and, in order to avoid censure in every part of my conduct, I make it a rule to obey the dictates of your Honor, the Assembly, and a good conscience."

May 3, 1756, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Winchester:

"We have some reason to believe the Indians are returned to Fort Duquesne, as some scouts from Fort Cumberland saw their tracks that way; and many corroborating accounts affirm that the roads over the Alleghaney mountains are as much beaten as they were last year by General Braddock's army. From these and other circumstances we may judge their numbers were considera-

ble. Whether they are gone for the season, or only to bring in a larger party, I am at a loss to determine.

"Though I have often troubled you on this head, I must again beg leave to desire your particular instructions, and information of what is to be done, as, being in a state of uncertainty, without knowing the plan of operations, or what scheme to go upon, reduces me to the greatest straits, and leaves me to guess at everything. Orders that are absolutely necessary to be despatched to the officers one day, appear the next as necessary to be contradicted. * * * So much am I kept in the dark that I do not know whether to prepare for the offensive or defensive; and what might be absolutely necessary in the one would be quite useless in the other.

"There are now in town about 150 of the Fairfax militia; 300 are expected from Prince William; and with the soldiers and militia now here, I intend to go out and scour the woods hereabouts for three or four days until the others arrive.

"I want very much to go to Fort Cumberland to regulate affairs there, but fear I cannot spare time, as my presence will be very necessary here.

"Clothes for the men are very much wanted. There are none in store, and some men, who have been enlisted these two months, to whom we could give nothing but a blanket, shoes, and shirt, are justly dissatisfied at having two pence per day stopped from them [out of a wage of eight pence per day, the purpose being to pay for clothes]. Provision here is scarce, and the commissary much wanted to lay in more. I have been, and still am, obliged to do this duty, as well as most others, which I would take upon me, rather than let anything be wanting for the good of the country, which I *could* do."

Colonel William Fairfax, Washington's early friend,

wrote to him at this time in regard to the trouble he had with the militia assembled at Winchester:

"I am sensible that such a medley of undisciplined militia must create you various troubles, but, having Cæsar's Commentaries, and perhaps Quintus Curtius, you have therein read of greater fatigues, murmurings, mutinies, and defections, than will probably come to your share; though, if any of those casualties should interrupt your quiet, I doubt not you would bear them with a magnanimity equal to that of any of the heroes of those times. The Council and Burgesses are mostly your friends; so that if you have not always particular instructions from the Governor, which you think necessary and desire, the omission, or neglect, may proceed from the confidence entertained in your ability and discretion to do what is fit and praiseworthy."

May 23, 1756, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Winchester:

"The spirit of desertion was so remarkable in the militia, that it had a surprising effect upon the regiment, and encouraged many of the soldiers to desert.

"I found it absolutely impossible to go to Fort Cumberland at this time, without letting matters of greater importance suffer in my absence here; such a multiplicity of different kinds of business am I engaged in.

"I am heartily glad your Honor has fixed upon the gentlemen Associators to point out the place for erecting of forts, but am sorry to find their motions so slow.

"Your Honor approved the scheme I sent down for forming the regiment into two battalions of twenty companies, but never gave any directions concerning the appointment. Nor do I think there can be any plan judiciously concerted, until we know what number of forts are to be built upon our frontiers.

"At this place I have begun the fort according to your orders, and found that the work would not be conducted if I was away, which was one among many reasons that detained me here."

The gentlemen Associators referred to in the above were about one hundred leading gentlemen of the colony, headed by Peyton Randolph, the Attorney-General. They organized as volunteers upon the special alarm of great peril on the frontier, and marched towards Winchester, but undertook no further service when the alarm subsided. When Robinson, the Speaker of the Assembly, gave notice to Washington of the organization of the company of gentlemen volunteers, he said further:

"The Council and House of Burgesses have agreed on a representation to his Majesty, in which you and the other officers are recommended to his Majesty's favor. Our hopes, Dear George, are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue."

Governor Dinwiddie wrote, May 28, 1756, to Major-General Abercrombie:

"As we are told the Earl of Loudoun is to raise three regiments on this continent, on the British establishment, I dearn't venture to trouble him immediately on his arrival with any recommendations; but, good Sir, give me leave to pray your interest with his Lordship in favor of Colonel George Washington, who, I will venture to say, is a very deserving gentleman, and has from the beginning commanded the forces of this dominion. General Braddock had so high an esteem for his merit, that he made him one of his aid-de-camps, and, if he had survived, I believe he would have provided handsomely for him in the regulars. He is a person much beloved here, and he has gone through many hardships in the service; and I really think he has great merit, and believe he can

raise more men here than any one present that I know. If his Lordship will be so kind as to promote him in the British establishment, I think he will answer my recommendation."

June 25, 1756, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Winchester:

"I intend to take the advice of a council of war about the line on which these forts are to be erected, and shall visit all the ground that I conveniently can, and direct the building.

"It is a work that must be conducted tedious, for these reasons: the scarcity of tools, smallness of our numbers, and want of conductors. We can only attempt to build fort after fort, not attempting too many at a time.

"Two hundred and forty six drafts are the total number brought in, out of which number several have deserted.

"I was in hope that by garrisoning the forts with part of the militia, we should have been able to have mustered a greater number of soldiers to work upon the forts that are to be built. But I am under the greatest apprehensions that all who are now up will desert. They go off in twenties, and all threaten to return [home] if they are not relieved in a very short time or discharged. * * * If they should go, as I suppose they will, we shall again be much exposed, and cannot defend so extensive a frontier.

"Governor Sharpe is building a fort on Potomac river, which may be of great service towards the protection of our people on that side."

In a letter of July 13, 1756, from Fort Cumberland, to Captain Waggener, Washington said:

"From the great confidence I repose in your diligence, I have appointed you to a command on which much depends; and I doubt not you will see the work carried on

with expedition. And I must particularly recommend it to you to keep up a strict command, both over officers and men, as you will be answerable for any delays or neglect which may happen for want of due discipline; and I would not wish your good nature should occasion you to overlook a fault in an officer, who may be our best friend.

"The Governor has ordered the militia to be discharged as soon as harvest is over, since they are so unwilling to continue until December."

Captain Waggener was ordered to see whether a fort erected by the people would answer for a public fort, and if so to garrison it; and then go on to the next place in the proposed chain of forts; get all the timbers ready, and by that time a plan of the kind of forts to be built would reach him.

To Captain Peter Hog orders were given to attend to the building of forts southward from Fort Dinwiddie towards Mayo river. He was to secure at Augusta Court-house expeditions calling out the militia of Augusta county to aid the soldiers in building the forts. These orders were given at Winchester, July 21, 1756; and on the same day, in a letter to Captain Hog, Washington said:

"There is a part of your recruiting account which much astonishes me, and I thought you nor no officer who valued his character, would have presumed to have done such a thing, as he must be certain it would appear as a palpable fraud in him."

Washington had provided both money and provision for sending to Waggener some enlisted men, and the latter had charged for the subsistence of these men before he received them, when he had been at no cost on their account.

July 22, 1756, Washinton wrote to Captain Stewart from

Winchester, giving directions in regard to the construction of forts, and the tools which he had secured, and other tools which he must borrow, hire, or buy from the inhabitants. He further said:

"I have too great an opinion of your good sense and discretion to think you need any admonition to induce you to a diligent discharge of your duty. You see our situation, know our danger, and bear witness of the people's sufferings, which are sufficient excitements to a generous mind.

"This instant I received yours of yesterday's date, and am extremely sorry that the Indians have visited us at this critical juncture of harvesting, especially as it will prevent your proceedings in the operations ordered.

"If you can learn from good intelligence that their numbers are great and motions designed for Virginia, endeavor to give the inhabitants notice, that they may lodge their women and children, and assist against the enemy.

"If you find they are only flying parties of the Indians, I would advise the settlers by no means to neglect their harvest, as their whole support depends upon it, and your assistance to get it in.

"I have sent you two barrels of powder, and four boxes of ball. As to cartridge paper, I neither have nor can get any upon any terms. You must get horns and pouches, if you send over the neighborhood for them."

August 4, 1756, Washington wrote to Dinwiddie from Winchester that the necessary orders and directions for the chain of forts to be built on the frontiers had been attended to, and plans and tools despatched with the orders to all the officers appointed to the work. The Council and himself had not wholly followed the act of the Assembly, some changes being required by the situation of the country, but the scheme adopted would undoubtedly

give "the best chain that can possibly be erected for the defence of the people."

"I make no doubt your Honor has ere this heard of the defeat of Lieutenant Rutherford of the Rangers, escorting an express to me at Fort Cumberland, and of the dastardly behavior of the militia, who ran off without one half of them having discharged their pieces, although they were apprised of the ambuscade by one of their flanking parties, before the Indians fired upon them; and ran back to Ashby's Fort, contrary to orders, persuasions, threats, &c. They are all ordered in (from detachment duty as guards to the plantations), as soon as the people have secured their harvest. Through the *passive* behavior of their officers they have been very refractory.

"I think with the number of men we have, there is but a poor prospect of our finishing our forts in time, and a much worse of defending our frontiers properly, and I would be glad if some expedient could be fallen upon to augment it.

"There is an act of Parliament to allow all servants to enlist, and the owners to be paid a reasonable allowance for them. If we had this privilege, we could soon complete the regiment. * * * If we have not this liberty granted us, the servants will all run off to the regular officers who are recruiting about us; and that would be to weaken our colony much. For my part I see no other expedient.

"Your Honor sees plainly how little our strength has been augmented by the drafts, and in three or four months they are to be discharged.

"I could wish we were clear of Fort Cumberland. It takes a great part of our small force to garrison it, and I see no service that it is to our colony; for since the Indians have driven the inhabitants so low down, they do

not hestiate to follow them as far as this place. There have been several families murdered, on the Maryland side, this week; and Fort Cumberland is now so much out of the way that they seldom hear of those things within a month after they are done. Our men want many necessaries, until the arrival of their regimentals, which cannot be had without sending to Philadelphia; and the great loss we shall suffer by sending them our paper money, has prevented my purchasing these things, until the men are almost naked.

"We cannot afford to put up with the loss of sending paper money, which I am credibly informed may be bought up in Philadelphia for fifteen per cent their currency.

"We are in great want of drums here, and none can be bought. We now have many young drummers learning here.

"I could by no means bring the Quakers to any terms. They chose rather to be whipped to death than bear arms, or lend us any assistance whatever upon the fort, or anything of self-defence. Some of their friends have been security for their appearance, when they are called for; and I have released them from the guard house until I receive further orders from your Honor, which they have agreed to apply for.

"I observe your Honor's proposal of carrying on an expedition against the Ohio. I have always thought it the best and *only* method to put a stop to the incursions of the enemy, as they would *then* be obliged to stay at home to defend their own possessions. But we are quite unprepared for such an undertaking. If it is fixed upon, *now* is the time for buying up provisions, and laying them in at the most convenient place. The Pennsylvania butchers are buying quantities of beef *here*, which should be put a stop to, if we are to march towards the Ohio. If we

are still to remain on the defensive, and garrison the chain of forts, provisions must be laid in at each of them; and I much fear, if we march from the frontiers, all the inhabitants will quit their plantations."

An English letter of May 11, 1756, to the Governor of Pennsylvania, stated that the King had appointed the Earl of Loudoun to succeed Governor Shirley as British Commander-in-Chief for America,— a bad choice, on account of the Earl's incompetency. When Pitt came into power he was recalled. Loudoun was empowered to raise in the Colonies a Royal American regiment, to consist of four battalions and be commanded by officers commissioned by the King. Permission to enlist servants was given, and the consequent recruiting made trouble with the colonial service. By servants were meant whites "indented" to service for a term of years, not negro slaves, unless in exceptional cases. The Virginia drafting of men was made a farce almost by permitting a person drafted to escape service upon paying £10, and by making the term of service too short. The Quakers got off easily, through Dinwiddie's orders to "use them with lenity," merely holding them, "at their own expense," to the end of the term for which they were drafted.

August 5, 1756, Washington addressed a very long letter to his most influential friend, John Robinson, Speaker of the Assembly. In this he said:

"Captain Gist has at divers times entreated me, in the most interesting manner, to intercede in his behalf, that he may get the balance of his account, his distresses calling aloud for all the assistance that all these sums can contribute. I do not know really who to apply to for this purpose, or whose right it is to pay the account, but it is certainly wrong not to pay him at all. If a hearty zeal for the interest of this colony, many losses in serving it

and true distress, can recommend him to any favor, he certainly merits indulgence. The Governor bids him go to the Committee, and the Committee think the Governor should pay it. So that the poor man suffers greatly and would be glad to know his doom at once, as it has been so long depending.

"I could heartily wish the Governor and Committee would resolve me, whether Fort Cumberland is to be garrisoned with any of the Virginia forces or not. It lies in a most defenceless posture, and I do not care to be at expense in erecting new, or repairing old works, until I am satisfied on this point.

"The place at present contains all our provisions and valuable stores, and is not capable of an hour's defence, if the enemy were to bring only one single half-pounder against it; which they might do with great ease on horseback. It lies so remote *now* from this, as well as the neighboring inhabitants, that it requires as much force to keep the communication open to it, as a fort at the Meadows would do, and employs 150 men, who are a *dead* charge to the country, as they can be of no other use than just to protect and guard the stores, which might as well be lodged at Cox's [on Patterson's Creek, 25 miles nearer to Winchester]; indeed better. A strong guard there would not only protect the stores, but also the few remaining inhabitants at the Branch [south Branch of Potomac], and at the same time waylay and annoy the enemy, as they pass and repass the mountains; whereas those at Fort Cumberland, lying out in a corner, quite remote from the inhabitants to where the Indians always repair to do their murders, can have no intelligence of anything that is doing, but remain in total ignorance of all transactions. When I was down I applied to the Governor for his particular and positive directions in this af-

fair. The following is an exact copy of his answer.— 'Fort Cumberland is a King's fort, and built chiefly at the charge of the colony, therefore properly under our direction, until a governor is appointed.' Whether I am to understand this ay or no to the question, 'Is the fort to be continued?'—I know not. But in all important matters I am directed in this ambiguous and uncertain way."

In a written expression of his view Dinwiddie appears as saying, "Its a King's fort and a magazine for stores; its not in my power to order it to be deserted * * * at present it must be properly supported with men." Robinson said on this matter in reply to Washington, "The Committee were all of opinion with you, that the keeping Fort Cumberland was an unnecessary expense; but, upon my mentioning their opinion to the Governor, he appeared very warm, and said my Lord Loudoun might do what he pleased, but for his part he would not remove the garrison, or order the fort to be demolished, for his right hand."

The letter of Washington to Robinson touched upon other points:

"Great and inconceivable difficulties arise in the execution of my commands, as well as infinite loss and disrepute to the service, by my not having power to pay for [the return of] deserters. Many of our deserters are apprehended in Maryland, and some in Pennsylvania, and, for the sake of a reward, are brought hither. But when they [who bring them] are to receive certificates only, that they are entitled to 200 pounds of tobacco, and those certificates are to be given in to a court of claims, there to lie perhaps till they are quite forgot, gives so much dissatisfaction, that many, I believe, rather than appre-

hend *one*, would aid *fifty* to escape, and this too among our own people.

"I should be glad to know whether the act of the Assembly prohibits the forces from marching out of the colony. If we cannot take any of the forces out of the colony, the disadvantages the country may labor under are not to be described; for the enemy may commit the most unheard of cruelties, and by stepping across the Potomac evade pursuit, and mock our best endeavors to scourge them.

"The inconveniences that arise from paying the soldiers in large bills are not to be conceived. We are obliged afterwards to give the pay of two or three soldiers to one man. He, ten to one, drinks, games, or pays it away; by which means the parties are all dissatisfied, and perpetually complaining for want of their pay. It also prevents them from laying out their pay for absolute necessaries, and obliges them many times to drink it out; for they put it into the tavern-keeper's hands, who will give no change, unless they consent to take the greatest part in liquor. In short, for five shillings *cash* you may at any time purchase a month's pay from the soldiers; in such contempt do they hold the currency. Besides small bills (if the thing is practicable) I should be extremely glad to receive some part of the money in Spanish and Portugal gold and silver. There are many things wanted for the use of the regiment which cannot be had here and may be had at Philadelphia; but their undervaluing of our [paper] money has prevented my sending thither.

"At the repeated instances of the soldiers, I must pay so much regard to their representations as to transmit their complaints. They think it extremely hard, as it is indeed, Sir, that *they*, who perhaps do more duty, and undergo more fatigue and hardship, from the nature of

the service and situation of the country, than any troops upon the continent, should be allowed the *least pay*, and the smallest encouragements in other respects. The Carolinians received British pay; the Marylanders, I believe, do the same; Pennsylvania is exorbitant in rewarding their soldiers [18d. a day and subsistence, to 8d. a day in Virginia]; the Jerseys and New Yorkers I do not remember what it is they give; but the New England governments give more than a shilling per day, our money, besides an allowance of rum, peas, tobacco, ginger, vinegar, etc., etc.

"Our soldiers complain that their pay is insufficient even to furnish shoes, shirts, stockings, etc., which their officers, in order to keep them fit for duty, oblige them to provide. This, they say, deprives them of the means of purchasing any of the necessaries of life, and obliges them to drag through a disagreeable service in the most disagreeable manner. That their pay will not afford more than enough (if that) to keep them in clothes, I should be convinced of for these reasons, if experience had not taught me. The British soldiers are allowed eight pence sterling per day, with many necessaries that ours are not, and can buy what is requisite upon the cheapest terms; and lie one half the year in camp, or garrison, when they cannot consume the fifth part of what ours do in continual marches over mountains, rocks, rivers, etc. Then, Sir, is it possible that our men, who receive a fourth less, have two pence per day stoppages for their regimental clothing, and all other stoppages that British soldiers have, and are obliged, by being in continual action, to lay in triple the quantity of ammunition and clothes, and at double the price, should be able to clear quarters? It is *not* to be done, and this is the reason why the men have always been so naked and bare of clothes.

"And I dare say you will be candid enough to allow, that there are few men who would choose to have their lives exposed, without some view or hope of reward, to the incessant assaults of a merciless enemy.

"Another thing there is which gives them great uneasiness, and that is, seeing no regular provision made for the maimed and wounded. They acknowledge the generosity of the Assembly, and have the highest veneration for that respectable House; they look with gratitude on the care that has been taken of their brother soldiers; but say this is only an act of *will*, and another Assembly may be much less liberal. We have no certainty that this generosity may continue, consequently can have nothing in view but the most gloomy prospects, and no encouragement to be bold and active; and the probable effects of which are wounds, which no sooner happen, and they unfit for service, than they are discharged, and turned upon an uncharitable world to beg, steal, or starve. In short, they have a true sense of all that can happen, and do not think slightly of the fatigues they encounter in scouring these mountains with their provisions on their backs, lying out and watching for the enemy, with no other covering or conveniency, to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather than trees and rocks! The old soldiers are affected, and complain of their hardships and *little* encouragement, in piteous terms; and they give these as reasons for so much desertion. The money that is given in paying for deserters, expresses, horse-hire, losses and abuse of horses, would go a great length toward advancing their pay, which I hope would contribute not a little to remove the cause of this expense. I would not have it here understood, though, that I mean to recommend anything extraordinary; no, I would give them British pay, and entitle them to the same privileges during their stay in

the service, and as a reward or compliment for their toil, rather than a matter of right. Were the country to give them one suit of regimental clothes a year, without receiving the two pence stoppage, it would be a full allowance, and give great content and satisfaction. All they want (they say) is to be entitled to the privileges and immunities of soldiers, of which they are well informed by some who have been a number of years in the army, then they should think it no hardship to be subject to the punishments and fatigues.

"Were this done, and an order given by the Committee empowering me to provide for them, according to the rules and customs of the army, then I should know what I was about, and I could do it without hesitation or fear, and, am convinced, to the satisfaction and interest of the country.

"As the case *now* stands, we are upon such odd establishment, under such uncertain regulations, and subject to so much inconvenience, that I am wandering in a wilderness of difficulties, and am ignorant of the ways to extricate myself, and to steer for the satisfaction of the country, of the soldiers, or of myself. Having no certain rules for the direction of my conduct, I am afraid to turn to this hand or to that, lest it should be censured.

"If such an order, as I before spoke of, was to issue from your Board, I would then immediately provide upon the best terms a quantity of all kinds of ammunition, clothes, etc., for the use of the regiment, and deliver them out to each company as their wants required, taking care to deduct the value of all such things from their pay. By this means the soldiers would be always provided and fit for duty, and do it cheerfully, and the country sustains no other loss than advancing, and lying out of, the money for a few months to lay in those stores, as this money is

always restored by the soldiers again. I have hitherto been afraid to advance any sums of money for this purpose, and always bought at extravagant prices, and have been obliged to send to different parts, ere they could be had, which has also contributed to the cause of their nakedness.

"The officers are almost as uneasy and dispirited as the men, doing every part of duty with languor and indifference. When they are ordered to provide themselves with suitable necessaries, they complain of an uncertain establishment, and the probability of being disbanded, and, so, things rendered useless. So that I really most heartily wish for a change. The surgeon has entreated me to mention his case, which I shall do by enclosing his letters. He has behaved extremely well, and discharged his duty in every capacity since he came into the regiment. He has long discovered an inclination to quit the service, the encouragement being so small; and I believe would have done it, had not the officers, to show their regard and willingness to detain him, subscribed each one day's pay in every month. This, as they are likely to be so much dispersed, and can receive no benefit from him, they intend to withdraw (he says) and therefore begs me to solicit the gentlemen of the committee on his behalf; otherwise he will be obliged to seek some other method of getting his livelihood.

"If it is thought necessary to establish an hospital, I believe there can scarcely be a doubt but that this is the place; and then I hope he will be appointed director, with advanced pay. Whether or not, I could really wish his pay or perquisites was increased, for the reasons he gives.

"I beg, Sir, with very great earnestness, that the gentlemen of the Committee will communicate their sentiments fully upon all these several matters, and approve or dis-

approve of everything therein. I only wait to know their intention, and then act in strict conformity thereto.

"If the Committee find my account satisfactory and distinct, as I have no doubt of it, it would be a great obligation if they would make a final settlement to that date, and begin a new account. They will find little trouble, or difficulty, in overhauling short accounts, kept in a regular method, plain and perspicuous, which is the very life of business."

It will be seen that on August 4th Washington wrote a long letter to Governor Dinwiddie, and on August 5th another and very long letter to Speaker Robinson, the former making nine printed pages, and the latter thirteen. On August 5th he also wrote letters to Captain Waggener and to Colonel Stephen. To Waggener he said:

"I have so many places and people to defend; so great calls from every quarter for men; and so little prospects for getting any, that I find it impossible to comply with the act of Assembly, and opinion of the Council of War, in building the chain of forts on the frontiers. You must, therefore, notwithstanding all the orders which have heretofore been given, immediately despatch Capt. Bell, with his whole company to Capt. Cox's fort. * * * Your own and the two remaining companies, you are to dispose of in the most eligible manner for the protection of the inhabitants above the Trough; and I could most earnestly wish that you would, if the thing is practicable, erect a fort in that settlement, twenty miles above your upper fort."

To Colonel Stephen he said:

"The views of the enemy are designed against the lower inhabitants. They have laid Maryland and Pennsylvania waste, as low as Carlisle, the inhabitants of which place we are told are flying with the utmost consternation.

They have made an attempt on the Virginia side, killed one and captivated another four miles hitherwards, but retreated back, for how long a time, God knows.

"Yesterday I wrote you [and the same to Waggener], and desired that all the captains would be punctual in making me weekly returns, signed by themselves and officers, signifying the state and strength of their companies, and shall here repeat these orders, because I am fully resolved to suspend the first Captain (or commander of a company) that fails in this point, or that is negligent and incorrect in making them out, tho' they may err but in *one* man. By my returns of the regiment including drafts, scouts, and rangers, I can only make 926 men; while Mr Boyd, exclusive of Captain Hog's company, has issued pay for 1080."

To Governor Dinwiddie Washington wrote from Winchester August 14, 1756:

"We have built some and altered other forts, as far south on the Potomac waters as any settlers have been molested; and there only remains one body of inhabitants, at a place called the Upper Tract, which needs a guard upon these waters, and thither I have ordered a party.

"There have been two or three men killed and scalped at different places since my last, though every precaution has been taken to prevent it. The fatiguing service, low pay, and great hardships in which our men have been engaged, cause, notwithstanding the greatest care and vigilance to the contrary, great and scandalous desertions. Yesterday I received an account from Captain Stewart of sixteen men deserting in a party. Frequently two or three went off before, as they have done from this place. We never fail to pursue, and use all possible means to apprehend them; but seldom with success, as they are generally aided and assisted off by the inhabitants.

"A report prevailed in town yesterday that a large body of Indians, headed by some French, intended to attack Fort Cumberland this fall. The consequence of a successful enterprise, and the absolute impossibility (considering the weakness of the place, badness of situation, and division of our force) of preventing its falling, are motives sufficient to apprehend the worst, especially when we consider that our provision, and, what is still more valuable, all our ammunition and stores, are lodged in that defenceless place.

"All the militia are returned [home] save 30 from Culpeper, who stay willingly with Captain Fields."

To Lord Thomas Fairfax, August 29, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester:

"It is with infinite concern I see the distresses of the people, and hear their complaints, without being able to afford them relief. I have so often troubled your Honor for aid from the militia, that I am almost ashamed to repeat my demands; nor should mention them again, did I not think it absolutely necessary at this time to save the most valuable and flourishing part of this county from immediate desertion. And how soon the remainder part, as well as the adjacent counties, may share the same fate, is too obvious to reason, and to your Lordship's good sense for me to demonstrate. The whole settlement of Conococheague in Maryland is fled, and there now remain only two families from thence to Fredericktown, which is several miles below the Blue Ridge. By which means we are quite exposed, and have no better security on that side than the Potomac river for many miles below the Shenandoah; and how great security that is to us may easily be discerned when we consider with what facility the enemy have passed and repassed it already. That the Maryland settlements are all abandoned is certainly *fact.*

I thought it expedient to inform your Lordship of the reasons for asking succours for these unhappy people, and how absolutely necessary it is to use without delay such vigorous measures as will save that settlement from total desolation.

"When Hampshire [county] was invaded, and called on Frederick for assistance, the people of the latter refused their aid, answering, 'Let them defend themselves, as we shall do if they come to us.' Now the enemy have forced through that county, and begin to infest this, those a little removed from danger are equally infatuated; and will be, I fear, until all in turn fall a sacrifice to an insulting and merciless enemy.

"I am so weak-handed here that I could not, without stagnating the public works, spare a man to these peoples assistance. Yet I look upon the retaining of them to be so essential to the well-being of the county in general, that I have ordered all the men that can possibly be spared, to march thitherwards; to remain there until your Lordship can relieve them to return to these works. I hope your Lordship will exert your authority in raising men. This will redress the complaints of the people below, who say they cannot leave their families to the mercy of the enemy while they are scouring the woods."

To Colonel Stephen, Washington wrote September 6, 1765, from Winchester:

"I am in hopes our men for the future will be better satisfied, as the Committee have allowed them eight pence per day and their clothes without any stoppages or deductions.

"The Governor informs me that he just received an express from Major Lewis, acquainting him that he might expect 150 Cherokees to be at this place in a fortnight; and that the Catawba king had engaged to send 50 war-

riors to our assistance. This will be a considerable help to us, as we shall be able to carry the war into their own country, and use them in the same manner they have us for 12 months past. He adds that the Catawbas and Cherokees are very firmly attached to our interest, and will still furnish us with more assistance when the fort in that country is completed. It is already in great forwardness.

"I have got orders from the Governor to enlist servants, the masters to be paid a reasonable price upon the first purchase, deducting for the time they have served. Complaint has been made that the officers and soldiers upon party [a recruiting party] take up the strays they find in the woods. Let these practices be discouraged. Ensign Roy had my promise to be appointed to my company, as it is the company he before belonged to, in case my brother did not accept, and *he* has declined it.

"Waters and Burrass behaved extremely ill when they were sent down last. If I could lay my hands on them, I would try the effect of 1000 lashes on the former, and whether a general court martial would not condemn the latter to the life eternal.

"Capt. Peachy applied to me for leave to take up strays, etc., and said it was practised by the Marylanders and Pennsylvanians. If the people of those provinces are guilty of unlawful practices, I cannot think it should be any excitement to us to follow their example: for under that pretence of getting strays in the mountains, is carried on a scene of the greatest iniquity that can be imagined. The horses of our deserted settlements are taken up, sold, and made away with, to the infinite detriment and oppression of the people, who complain of these grievances in the most sensible manner, and urge that they

are more oppressed by their own people than by the enemy."

To Governor Dinwiddie, Washington wrote September 8, 1756, of this enlisting of servants:

"It is the best, most expeditious, nay, only method, I know of *now* to recruit the forces. It will occasion great murmuring and discontent to the masters, if they are not paid immediately for their servants.

"The men are much satisfied with the augmentation of their pay, but nothing will prevent their desertion while they are kindly received and entertained through the Colony, and even under the eye of the civil magistrate. Those delivered to the constables are always suffered to escape, and no notice taken of it.

"The Indians are a very covetous people, and expect to be well rewarded for the least service.

"People here in general are very selfish; every person expects forces at his own door, and is angry to see them at his neighbors.

"The number of tipling houses kept here is a great grievance.

"All the efforts which have been made here to raise the militia have been ineffectual.

"I am glad the Cherokees have determined to come to our assistance, and to hear of the firm attachment of them and the Catawbas to our interest. They will be of particular service — more than twice their number of white men. When they arrive, which I pray may be *soon*, we may deal with the French in their own way; and, by visiting their country, will keep their Indians at home.

"We have been happy in being tolerable peaceable of late, and holding our own, while Maryland and Pennsylvania fly in the utmost consternation. The frontiers of Maryland are abandoned for many miles below the Blue

Ridge, as low as Fredericktown, through which place I am credibly informed no less than 350 waggons, transporting the affrighted families, passed in the space of three days. The Potomac is deserted on the Maryland side 40 miles below Conococheague, and as much in a parallel below Winchester, and is now more than any the theatre of bloodshed and cruelty.

"Those Indians who are now coming should be showed all possible *respect*, and the greatest *care* taken of them, as upon them much depends. It is a critical time, they are very humorsome, and their assistance very necessary! One false step might not only lose us *that*, but even turn them against us. All kinds of necessary goods, etc., should be got for them.

"If your Honor does not care to trouble yourself about it, and please to give me orders, and furnish me with money or letters of credit (for our paper money passes to great disadvantage), I will get them immediately from Philadelphia, which is the only place that I know of that we can possibly be supplied from.

"As the most of our present corps [of officers] are gentlemen of family, and have now been sometime in the service, I fear we should exchange for the worse, if we aim at a change."

In a letter of August 14, 1756, Washington had said to the Governor:

"As a general meeting of all the persons concerned in the estate of my deceased brother is appointed to be held at Alexandria, about the middle of September next, for making a final settlement of all his affairs; and as I am deeply interested, not only as an executor and heir to part of his estate, but also in a very important dispute, subsisting between Colonel [George] Lee, who married the widow, and my brothers and self, concerning advice

in the will, which brings the whole personal estate in question,— I say, as this is a matter of very great moment to me, I hope your Honor will readily consent to my attending this meeting, provided no disadvantage is likely to arise during my absence; in which case, I shall not offer to quit my command."

On this matter Washington wrote to the Governor from Mount Vernon, September 23, 1756:

"Under your kind indulgence I came to this place a few days ago, expecting to meet the executors of my deceased brother, in order to make a final settlement of his affairs. I was disappointed though in this design, by the Assembly having called away the principal persons concerned."

On public matters, Washington further said in this letter:

"I have often urged the necessity of enforcing the articles of war in all their parts, where it is not incompatible with the nature of this service.

"We are under a kind of regulation at present that renders command extremely difficult and precarious, as no crimes are particularly notified but mutiny and desertion.

"I beg leave to observe in regard to Fort Cumberland, that if it is continued we must be confined to act defensively, and keep our forces dispersed as they now are. The place must be fortified with strong works, or else inevitably fall, garrison and stores, into the enemy's hands. How fatal a stroke! And what noise this will make, the censure of mankind will speedily declare.

"I did, from the beginning, express my sentiments against having small garrisons in a chain of forts along our frontiers.

"The most effectual way that I can see, though none can answer while we act defensively, is to have no more than three or four large, strong forts, built at convenient

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distances, upon our frontiers; in which strong garrisons must be maintained.

"Unless the Assembly concerts some measures to augment their force, the country, I fear, must inevitably fall. The frontiers, since this time a twelve month, are totally deserted for 50 miles and upwards quite from north to south, and all below that greatly thinned by the removal of numbers; occasioned in some measure by Maryland and Pennsylvania giving ground so much faster than we do, which exposes a very fine country of ours on that side, as low as Monocacy, in Maryland, several miles on this side of the Blue Ridge.

"I believe I might also add, that no person who regards his character, will undertake a command without the means of preserving it; since his conduct is culpable for all misfortunes, and never right but when successful.

"I cannot think any number under 2000 men sufficient to cover our extensive frontiers, and with *them* it is impossible to prevent misfortunes, however easy the world may think it. What means can be used to raise these men, I know not, unless the listing servants is thought expedient; and that alone will prove ineffectual.

"I apprehend it will be thought advisable to keep a garrison always at Fort Loudoun [Winchester]; for which reason I would beg leave to represent the great nuisance the number of tippling-houses in Winchester are to the soldiers, who, by this means, in despite of the utmost care and vigilance, are, so long as their pay holds good, incessantly drunk, and unfit for service.

"The rates of their liquor are immoderately high, and the publicans throughout the country charge one shilling per meal, currency, for soldier's diet; and the country only allows the recruiting officer eight pence per day for the maintenance of a soldier.

"The want of a chaplain does, I humbly conceive, reflect dishonor upon the regiment, as all other officers are allowed. The gentlemen of the corps are sensible of this, and did propose to support one at their private expense."

September 28, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester to Governor Dinwiddie:

"I arrived here last night, * * * and set out tomorrow for Augusta."

October 10, 1756, Washington wrote from Halifax, where the southernmost fort was, that he had met within five miles of the Carolina line, the commissioner to secure some hundreds of Indian allies, Major Lewis, and the result of his trip to the Cherokees was seven men and three women, instead of the expected 400. At Augusta Courthouse, hearing of Indian depredations, Washington had applied to Colonel Stewart to raise a party of the militia with which to himself march to Jackson's river, to scour the woods there, and if possible fall in with the enemy; and the best Stewart had been able to do, with Washington waiting five days, was only five men. In this situation Washington had proceeded sixty miles to Luney's Ferry on the James river, in hope of getting men from Colonel Buchanan, and this officer had told him with very great concern that he was finding it utterly impossible to raise men by any orders that he could give. The only service Buchanan had been able to render was that of accompanying Washington to Voss's, on the Roanoke, where Captain Hog was building a fort; and here they had found Captain Hog engaged in building a fort with only eighteen of his company while a militia Captain Hunt with thirty men would not strike a stroke unless upon a guarantee of being paid forty pounds of tobacco per day for each man. The place was "a pass of very great importance, being a very great inroad of the enemy," where a

fort would protect an extensive country. Washington had hardly passed from this point, on the way "to visit the range of forts in this country," when "two men were killed along the same road." Not one of the inhabitants dared stay with only militia protection. "The militia," said Washington, "are in such bad order and discipline, that they will go and come when and where they please, without regarding time, their officers, or the safety of the inhabitants, but consulting solely their own inclinations." Where one-third should be out on duty hardly one-thirteenth obeyed the order, and being to be relieved every month "they are more than that time marching to and from their stations, and will not wait one day longer than the limited time, let the necessity for it be ever so urgent." And in fact, even if their month was not out, an urgent necessity for action would send them away, leaving Captain Hog and his only eighteen men, for example, to face Indian attack alone.

"Perhaps it may be thought that I reflect unjustly," Washington went on to say. "I really do not, Sir; I scorn to make unjust remarks on the behavior of the militia, as much as I despise and contemn the persons who detract from mine and the character of the regiment. Were it not that I consulted the good of the public, and thought these garrisons merited redress, I should not think it worth my mention. I only want to make the country sensible how ardently I have studied to promote her cause, and wish very sincerely my successor may fill my place more to their satisfaction in every respect than I have been able to do.

"I mentioned in my last that I did not think a less number than 2000 men would be sufficient to defend our extensive and much exposed frontiers from the ravages of the enemy. I have not had one reason to alter my

opinion, but many to strengthen and to confirm it. And I flatter myself the country will, when they know my motives, be convinced that I have had no sinister views, no vain motives of commanding a number of men, that urge me to recommend this number to your Honor, but that it proceeds from the knowledge I have acquired of the country, people, &c., to be defended.

"I set out this day on my return to the fort at the head of Catawba, where Colonel Buchanan promised to meet me with a party to conduct me along our frontiers, up Jackson's River to Fort Dinwiddie, and higher if needful."

The reference above to "my successor" was due to Washington's intention of resigning in consequence of malignant charges against his regiment in a communication to the *Virginia Gazette*. The complaints referred to in Washington's letter of April 18, 1756, to Governor Dinwiddie, had been renewed, and a broadside of scurrilous abuse launched in the communication mentioned.

In a letter of October 23, 1756, to Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen, in command at Fort Cumberland, Washington referred to this officer an order from Governor Dinwiddie to have a council of officers pass upon the question of keeping up or giving up that fortress This council of war, held October 30, 1756, consisted of fifteen officers, and its president, Colonel Stephen; and their decision was to call on Washington for an immediate reinforcement to the garrison; to have some of the most valuable stores removed to Winchester; to go on with the works for strengthening the fort; and to refer to Lord Loudoun the question of a more adequate strengthening of the place and reinforcing of the garrison.

Washington's letter to Colonel Stephen had announced his intention to urge upon the Assembly the advantages and necessity of an offensive campaign; an attempt against

Fort Duquesne, "as you and everybody else must allow that carrying the war into the enemy's country is the surest method of peace at home and success abroad." "The policy of the French," he continued, "is so subtle that not a friendly Indian will we have on the continent if we do not soon dislodge them from the Ohio. I shall exert every power to make this plan go down with the Assembly, and press them to vigorous measures for the safety and interest of the Country, preferably to the defensive, and demonstrate fully to them everything I think demands their concern, as to the frontiers. I also would have you collect whatever comes under your own observation in these respects, that we may omit nothing requisite for the Assembly's regard."

In view of the decision of the council of war as to Fort Cumberland, Washington expressed this opinion:

"The situation of Fort Cumberland is extremely unsuitable for defence, and in no ways fit for fortification — and a fort somewhere in that neighborhood rather more advanced to the westward, well-fortified and strongly garrisoned would contribute much to the mutual safety and interest of the three colonies. Because it secures the only gap of the Alleghany at present made passable for wheel-carriages and which would forward an Expedition to the Ohio. Now would the three colonies consent to furnish proportionable supplies, I should think it highly expedient to maintain that pass by erecting a Fortress of strength towards the Little Meadows, in advance to the Enemy, which would give us yet more advantages, and Fort Cumberland would still answer its present purpose without attempting its improvement while covered by the other. Or should Virginia herself take the weight of this Enterprise — or could it be accomplished by any means whatever — I should be extremely fond of the expedient.

But to view Fort Cumberland in its present defenseless posture, relative to Virginia in particular,— and at this gloomy juncture of affairs — I can not entertain very favorable sentiments of supporting *it*.

"As to the address of the council to me for reinforcement, they must have known that it was out of my power to grant it.

"Upon the whole, were it at any other time than this — knowing the *weakness* of our *strength*, doubting the assistance of our neighbors, and dreading the consequence of leaving the place longer exposed, although great part of the stores is already removed, I should vote for demolishing it. But the affair being of great importance, I only offer my sentiments; and submit to his Honor the Governor, and the Assembly, for the determination of the case."

This fort was "built of stockades about nine feet high above ground and never intended for defence against artillery;" also it was "commanded by a rising ground about 150 yards northwest of the stockades, and overlooked by several hills within cannon shot;" also the barracks were "without the fort, ill-built, and easily set on fire by the enemy; as any number of men can come under the banks of the Potomac and Will's Creek, within pistol shot of the barracks, and the fort itself, without being exposed to a shot from cannon or small arms:" and finally, the roads here made it the only place south of Albany exposed to an attack from carriage guns.

November 9, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester to Governor Dinwiddie:

"From Fort Trial on Smith's River, I returned to Fort William on the Catawba, where I met Colonel Buchanan with about 30 men, chiefly officers, to conduct me up Jackson's river, along the range of forts. With this small

company of irregulars [militia], with whom order, regularity, circumspection, and vigilance were matters of derision and contempt, we set out, and, by the protection of Providence, reached Augusta Court-House in seven days, without meeting the enemy; otherwise we must have fallen a sacrifice, through the indiscretion of these whooping, hallooing *gentlemen* soldiers!

"The jaunt afforded me an opportunity of seeing the bad regulation of the militia, the disorderly proceedings of the garrisons, and the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants.

"For want of proper laws to govern the militia by (for I cannot ascribe it to any other cause), they are obstinate, self-willed, perverse, of little or no service to the people, and very burthensome to the country. Every *mean* individual has his own crude notions of things, and must undertake to direct. If his advice is neglected, he thinks himself slighted, abused, and injured; and, to redress his wrongs will depart for home.

"I found the garrisons [militia] very weak for want of men; but more so by indolence and irregularity. None I saw in a posture of defence, and few that might not be surprised with the greatest ease. They keep no guard, but just when the enemy is about. So that the neighborhood may be ravaged by the enemy, and they not the wiser. Of the ammunition they are as careless as of the provisions, firing it away frequently at targets for wagers. Of the many forts which I passed by, I saw but one or two that had their captains present, they being absent chiefly on their own business.

"These men afford no assistance to the unhappy settlers who are driven from their plantations, either in securing their harvests or gathering in their corn. The wretched inhabitants feel their insecurity from militia preservation,

who are slow in coming to their assistance, indifferent about their preservation, unwilling to continue, and regardless of everything but their own ease. In short, they are so affected with approaching ruin, that the whole back country is in motion towards the southern colonies. They petitioned me in the most earnest manner for companies of the regiment. But, alas! it is not in my power to assist them with any, except I leave this dangerous quarter [about Winchester] more exposed than they are."

It will be noted that this account refers to forts wholly in charge of militia, and not under Washington's direction. He points out the contrast between service such as his enlisted soldiers could give and that of the militia. To a large extent the Governor managed the militia movements, and Washington's exposure of the system was none too pleasant for him. He sent orders to Washington, by a letter of November 18th, resenting criticism that seemed to touch him, and requiring Washington "to march immediately 100 men to Fort Cumberland from the forces at Winchester," and to remain there himself in command. Washington wrote in reply from Alexandria, on his way down to Williamsburg, November 24, 1756:

"At this place I received your Honor's letter of the 18th, and shall take care to pay the strictest obedience to your orders, and the opinion [that Fort Cumberland should not be given up, but should be reinforced from Winchester], as far as I can. The detachment ordered from Winchester exceeds, I believe the number of enlisted men we have there; and the drafts, which made our strength at that place to consist of about 160 men, will leave us in seven days. I have no hope of enlisting any, nor prolonging their stay, as we have heretofore engaged those who were willing to serve. However, my true endeavors

shall be strictly aiding for this (more than ever) necessary purpose.

"I am very sorry if any expression in my letter should be deemed unmannerly. I have endeavored to demean myself in that proper respect due to superiors; and in the instance mentioned I can truly say, so far from intending a charge or affront of any kind, it was distant from my thoughts.

"I seem also to be reprimanded for giving a vague account of my tour to the southward. I was rather fearful of blame for meddling with matters I had no immediate concern with the [the militia garrisons in the quarter of which he spoke not being under his immediate command; yet Dinwiddie complained that he had not reported the officers by name, the same as if they had been under his command; and he testily declared it "unmannerly" to speak of failure with the Indians, as if incompetent persons had been sent on this mission by himself]. I related the situation of our frontiers as well as I was capable, with a design, from which I have never intentionally swerved, to serve my country; and am sorry to find that this, and my best endeavors of late, meet with unfavorable constructions. What it proceeds from I know not.

"So soon as I march from Winchester, which will immediately happen, as I am setting out thence, I shall write your Honor a more distinct account of the situation at that place, which will be left entirely destitute of all protection, notwithstanding it now contains all the public stores of any importance, as they were removed from Fort Cumberland, and in the most dangerous part of our frontiers. The works, which have been constructed, and conducted on, with infinite pains and labor will be unfinished and exposed; and the materials for completing the building, which have been collected with unspeakable dif-

ficulty and expense, left to be pillaged and destroyed by the inhabitants of the town; because, as I before observed, 100 men will exceed the number, I am pretty confident, which we have there, when the drafts go off. So, to comply with my orders (which I shall literally do, if I can,) not a man will be left there to secure the works, or defend the King's stores."

A week later, December 2, 1756, Washington wrote to the Governor from Winchester (Fort Loudoun), that "wagons and provisions in readiness to go up with this escort" the commissary had been unable to supply; and further he said:

"The return of our strength, which I called in so soon as I arrived, is herewith sent, signed by the adjutant, amounting, exclusive of the drafts, to 81 effectives, including the sick, and young drummers, who were sent here to learn.

"Your Honor's late and unexpected order has caused the utmost terror and consternation in the people, and will, I fear, be productive of numberless evils, not only to this place, but to the country in general, who seem to be in the greatest dread for the consequences. The stores of every kind have all been brought from Fort Cumberland, save those indispensably necessary there, at a very great expense, and lie in the court-house and other public buildings, to the no small inconvenience and detriment of the county. I am convinced, if your Honor were truly informed of the situation of this place,—in every degree our utmost and most exposed frontier, there being no inhabitants between this and the Branch, and none there but what are forted in,—you would not think it prudent to leave such a quantity of valuable stores exposed to the insults of a *few;* for a very few indeed might reduce them, and the town too, to ashes.

"In the next place, the works, which have been begun and continued with labor and hardship, lie open, untenable, and exposed to the weather, to say no more; and the materials, which have been collected with cost and infinite difficulty, to the mercy of every pillager; our timber and scantling, used and burnt by the town's people; our plank, which has been brought from far, stolen and destroyed; and the lime, if not stolen, left to be wasted, &c., &c. And, this is not the worst. A building, which in time might and would have been very strong and defensible, and an asylum in the greatest danger, in a manner totally abandoned. As the case now stands, we have no place tenable, no place of safety; all is exposed and open to attacks; and by not having a garrison at this place, no convoys can get up to us, and the communication with the inhabitants entirely cut off, so that soldiers and inhabitants cannot be assisting each other.

"My residing at Fort Cumberland, lying more advanced, and wide of all other forts, will prevent me from having the immediate direction of any but that; will render it impossible to deliver stores regularly; a total stagnation of business must ensue, because no person will or can come to me there [for payment of contingent expenses]; and receiving intelligence and distributing orders, so convenient at Winchester, will be impossible.

"I declare, upon my honor, that I am not loath to leave this, but had rather be at Fort Cumberland (if I could do my duty there) a thousand times over; for I am tired of the place, the inhabitants, the life I lead here; and if, after what I have said, you should think it necessary that I reside at that place, I shall acquiesce with pleasure and cheerfulness, and be freed from much anxiety, plague, and business. To be at Fort Cumberland *some-*

times I think highly expedient, and have hitherto done it. Three weeks ago I came from that place."

December 19, 1756, Washington wrote from Fort Loudoun to Dinwiddie:

"Your letter of the 10th came to hand the 15th; in consequence of which I despatched orders immediately to all the garrisons on the Branch to evacuate their forts and repair to Pearsall's, where they would meet the flour, &c., from this place and escort it to Fort Cumberland. I expect the provisions purchased for the support of these forts, and now lying in bulk, will be wasted and destroyed, notwithstanding I have given directions to the assistant commissary on the Branch, and to Waggener's company, to use their utmost diligence in collecting the whole, and securing them where his company is posted. An escort, with all the flour we have been able to procure, sets out from this on Tuesday next. I expect to depart sooner myself, after leaving directions with Captain Mercer, whom I have appointed to command here, and shall repair as expeditiously as possible to Fort Cumberland.

"I am at a loss to understand the meaning of your Honor's orders, and the opinion of the Council, when I am directed to evacuate all the stockade forts, and at the same time to march only 100 men to Fort Cumberland, and to continue the like number here to garrison Fort Loudoun. If the stockade forts are all abandoned, there will be more men than are required for these two purposes, and the communication between them, of near 80 miles, will be left without a settler, unguarded and exposed."

In his orders to the several commanders of forts now evacuated Washington wrote:

"I heartily commiserate the poor, unhappy inhabitants, left by this means exposed to every excursion of a mer-

ciless enemy, and wish it were in my power to offer them better support than good wishes (merely) will afford. You may assure the settlement that this unexpected, and, if I may be allowed to say, unavoidable step was taken without my concurrence and knowledge; that it is an express order from the Governor, and can neither be evaded nor delayed. Therefore, any representations to me of their danger, and the necessity of continuing troops among them, will be fruitless; I have *inclination*, but no *power* left, to serve them. It is also the Governor's order, that the forts be left standing for the inhabitants to possess if they think proper."

Washington's letter to Dinwiddie of December 19th continued as follows:

"I have read that paragraph in Lord Loudoun's letter, which your Honor was pleased to send me, over and over again, but am unable to comprehend the meaning of it. What scheme it is, I was carrying into execution without waiting advice, I am at a loss to know, unless it was building the chain of forts along our frontiers, which I not only undertook conformably to an act of Assembly, and by your own orders, but, with respect to the places, in pursuance of a council of war.

"I see with much regret that his Excellency Lord Loudoun seems to have prejudged my proceedings, without being thoroughly informed what were the springs and motives that have actuated my conduct. How far I have mistaken the means to recommend my services, I know not, but I am certain of this, that no man ever intended better, or studied the interest of his country with more affectionate zeal, than I have done.

"I believe we are the only troops upon the continent, that are kept summer and winter to the severest duty, with the least respite or indulgence. The delay of the

soldiers' clothes occasions unaccountable murmurs and complaints, and I am very much afraid we shall have few men left, if they arrive not in a week or two. Your Honor would be astonished to see the naked condition of the poor wretches; and how they possibly can subsist, much less work, in such severe weather. Had we but blankets to give them, or anything to defend them from the cold, they might perhaps be easy."

Of the same date as this letter to Dinwiddie, December 19, 1756, is one to Speaker Robinson, in which Washington said:

"All the stockade forts on the Branch are to be evacuated, and in course all the settlements abandoned, except what lie under the immediate protection of Captain Waggener's fort, the only place exempted in their resolve. Surely his Honor and the Council are not fully acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the unhappy frontiers, thus to expose so valuable a tract as the Branch, in order to support a fortification in itself of very little importance to the inhabitants or the colony. The former order of Council would have endangered not only the loss of Fort Loudoun [being built at Winchester, extra large and strong, under Washington's own direction], the stores, and Winchester, but a general removal of the settlers of this valley, even to the Blue Ridge. This last hath the same object in view, vizt., Fort Cumberland, and, to maintain it, the best lands in Virginia are laid open to the mercy of a cruel and inhuman enemy. These people have long struggled with the dangers of savage incursions, daily soliciting defence, and willing to keep their ground. To encourage them, all my little help has been administered, and they seemed satisfied with my intentions, resolving to continue while any probability of support remained. The disposition I had made of our small

regiment gave general satisfaction to the settlements, and content began to appear everywhere. The necessary measures for provisions and stores were agreeably concerted, and every regulation established for the season. But the late command reverses, confuses, and incommodes everything; to say nothing of the extraordinary expense of carriage, disappointments, losses, and alterations, which must fall heavy on the country. Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant; but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavors for the service of my country perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain; *today approved, tomorrow condemned.* Left to act and proceed at hazard, accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of defence, if you can think my situation capable to excite the smallest degree of envy, or afford the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hid from you, and you entertain notions very different from the *reality* of the case. However, I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments some time longer, in hope of better regulation on the arrival of Lord Loudoun, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia.

"His Lordship, I think, has received impressions tending to prejudice, by false representation of facts, if I may judge from a paragraph of one of his letters to the Governor, and on which is founded the resolve to support Fort Cumberland at all events. The severity of the season, and nakedness of the soldiers, are matters of much compassion, and give rise to infinite complaints. Nor is it possible to obviate them, unless their clothing should come in immediately. You would be surprised how the

poor creatures live, much more how they can do duty. Had we but blankets, they might be appeased for a little time; and as we have not, I fear many will desert."

In reply to this Speaker Robinson wrote to Washington:

"I am truly concerned at the uneasiness you are under in your present situation, and the more so as I am sensible you have too much reason for it. The resolution of defending Fort Cumberland, and evacuating the other forts, was taken before I knew or mistrusted anything of the matter. I must confess I was not a little surprised at it, and took the liberty to expostulate with many of the Council upon it, who gave me in answer, that Lord Loudoun had insisted that Fort Cumberland should be preserved, and, as we had so few troops, it could not be done without breaking up the small forts, and taking the men from them.

"It was to no purpose to tell them that our frontiers would thereby be entirely exposed to our cruel and savage enemy, and that they could receive no protection from Fort Cumberland, as it was in Maryland, and so remote from any of our inhabitants;—and further, that the act of Assembly, which gave the money solely for the defence and protection of our frontiers, would be violated, and the money applied otherwise than the Assembly intended. Yet, notwithstanding all I could say, they persisted in their resolution, without alleging any other reason than that it was in pursuance of Lord Loudoun's desire.

"It cannot be a difficult matter to guess, who was the author and promoter of this advice and resolution, or by whom Lord Loudoun has been persuaded that the place is of such importance. But supposing it were really so, it ought to be defended by the people in whose province it is, or at least at the expense of the three colonies

jointly, and our own frontiers not left exposed for the defence of a place from which we cannot receive the least advantage or protection. The present unhappy state of our country [Virginia only is meant] must fill the mind of every well-wisher to it with dismal and gloomy apprehensions; and without some speedy alterations in our counsels, which may God send, the fate of it must be soon determined."

About this time, December, 1756, Washington addressed a formal letter to Robinson, inscribed, "To the Speaker of the House of Burgesses," in which he renewed his protest of the previous May (the 18th) against what he heard by several letters, "that the Assembly are incensed against the Virginia regiment; and think they have cause to accuse the officers of all inordinate vices; but more especially of drunkenness and profanity!" As in his letter of May 18, 1756, Washington protested the abundant proofs going "to show on the one hand that my incessant endeavors have been directed to discountenance gaming, drinking, swearing, and other vices, with which all camps too much abound; while, on the other, I have used every expedient to inspire a laudable emulation in the officers, and an unerring exercise of Duty in the Soldiers.

"I can not help observing, that if the country think they have cause to condemn my conduct, and have a person in view that will act, that *he* may do. But who will endeavor to act more for her Interests than I have done? It will give me the greatest pleasure to resign a command which I solemnly declare I accepted against my will.

"I know, Sir, that inexperience may have led me into innumerable errors. For which reason I should think myself an unworthy member of the community and

greatly deficient in the love I owe my country, which has ever been the first principle of my actions, were I to require more than a distant hint of its dissatisfaction to resign a commission which I confess to you I am no ways fond of keeping.

"These sentiments I communicate to you, Sir, not only as to a Gentleman for whom I entertain the highest respect and greatest friendship; but also as a member of the Assembly, that the contents, if you think proper, may be communicated to the whole. For, be assured, I shall never wish to hold a Commission, when it ceases to be by unanimous consent.

"I am far from attempting to vindicate the characters of all the officers. There are some who have the seeds of Idleness too strongly instilled into their constitution, either to be serviceable to themselves, or beneficial to the Country. Yet even those have not missed my best advice: nor have my unwearied endeavors ever been wanting to serve my country with the highest integrity. No sordid views have influenced my conduct, nor have the hopes of unlawful gains swerved me in any measure from the strictest dictates of Honor! I have diligently sought the public welfare; and have endeavored to inculcate the same principles on all that are under me."

January 12, 1757, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie from Fort Cumberland:

"We have as many men at work here, preparing timber to strengthen the works, as tools will supply; but I wish I had been ordered to build a new fort rather than attempt to repair the *old* one.

"No more forts were evacuated than were requisite to reinforce this Garrison with 100 men, and to continue 100 at Fort Loudoun (Winchester), according to order. The others are continued at their former posts."

In February, 1757, Washington sent to Lord Loudoun a letter, reviewing at considerable length the course of events, and his own experience, since the outbreak of hostilities between the French and English. The document is a masterly presentation, fit in both matter and style to be compared with the ablest state papers from our present Secretary of War or Secretary of State, whose work is at the highest level of intelligence, judgment, and ability. As Lord Loudoun's secretary acknowledged receiving the letter February 27, 1757, it must have been written just as Washington became twenty-five years of age. The more notable paragraphs of this expert recital of war proceedings and experiences are the following:

"The sums of money, my Lord, which have been granted by this colony to carry on war, have been very considerable; and to reflect to what little purpose is matter of great concern, and will seem surprising to those who are not acquainted with the causes, and the confusion with which all our affairs have hitherto been conducted, owing to our having no fixed object or pursuing any regular system, or plan of operation.

"As I have studied with attention and care the nature of the service in which we are engaged, have been engaged therein from the beginning of the present broils, and have been an eye-witness to all the movements and various proceedings, I beg leave to offer a concise and candid account of our circumstances to your Lordship; from which many errors may be discovered, that merit redress in a very high degree.

"It was not until it was too late, we discovered that the French were on the Ohio; or rather, that we could be persuaded they came there with a design to invade his Majesty's dominions. Nay, after I was sent out in December, 1753, and brought undoubted testimony even

from themselves of their avowed design, it was yet thought a fiction, and a scheme to promote the interest of a private company, even by some who had a share in the government. These unfavorable surmises caused great delay in raising the first men and money, and gave the active enemy time to take possession of the Fork of Ohio (which they now call Duquesne), before we were in sufficient strength to advance thither, which has been the chief source of all our past and present misfortunes. For by this means, the French getting between us and our Indian allies, they fixed those in their interests who were wavering, and obliged the others to neutrality, 'till the unhappy defeat of his (late) Excellency General Braddock.

"The troops under Colonel Dunbar going into quarters in July, and the inactivity of the neighboring colonies, and the incapacity of this, conspired to give the French great room to exult, and the Indians little reason to expect a *vigorous* offensive war on our side.

"Virginia, it is true, was not inactive all this time; on the contrary, voted a handsome supply for raising men to carry on the war, or, more properly, to defend herself. But even in this she signally failed.

"The men first levied to repel the enemy marched for Ohio the beginning of April, 1754, without tents, without clothes, in short without any conveniences to shelter them, in that remarkably cold and wet season, from the inclemency of the weather, or to make the service tolerably agreeable. In this state did they, notwithstanding, continue, till the battle of the Meadows, in July following, never receiving in all that space any subsistence; and were very often under the greatest straits and difficulties for want of provisions.

"These things were productive of great murmurings and discontent, and rendered the service so distasteful to

the men that, not being paid immediately upon coming in, they thought themselves bubbled, and that no reward for their services was ever intended. This caused great desertion; and the deserters, spreading over the country, recounting their sufferings and want of pay, which rags and poverty sufficiently testified, fixed in the mind of the populace such horrid impressions of the hardships they had encountered, that no arguments could remove these prejudices, or facilitate the recruiting service.

"This put the Assembly upon enacting a law to impress vagrants, which added to our difficulties, for, compelling these abandoned miscreants into the service, they embraced every opportunity to effect their escape, gave a loose rein to their vicious principles, and invented the most unheard of stories to palliate desertion and gain compassion; in which they not only succeeded, but obtained protection also. So that it was next to impossible, after this, to apprehend deserters, while the civil officers rather connived at their escape than aided in securing them.

"Thus were affairs situated, when we were ordered, in September, 1755, to recruit our force to 1200 men. 'Tis easy therefore to conceive, under these circumstances, why we did not fulfil the order, especially when the officers were not sufficiently allowed for this arduous task. We continued, however, using our endeavors until March following, without much success.

"The Assembly, meeting about that time, came to a resolution of augmenting our numbers to 1500 men, by drafting the militia, (who were to continue in the service until December *only*); and by a clause in the act, exempting all those who should pay ten pounds, our numbers were very little increased, one part of the people paying that sum, and many of the poorer sort absconding. The

funds arising from these forfeitures were thrown into the treasury; whereas, had they been deposited in proper hands for recruiting, the money might have turned to good account. But a greater grievance than either of these was restraining the forces from marching out of the colony, or acting offensively, and ordering them to build forts, and garrison them, along our frontiers (of more than 300 miles in extent). How equal they, or any like number, are to the task, and how repugnant a defensive plan is to the true interest and welfare of the colony, I submit to any judge to determine who will consider the following particulars.

"First, that erecting forts at greater distances than 15 or 18 miles, or a day's march asunder, and garrisoning them with less than 80 or 100 men, is not answering the intention.

"Indian parties are generally intermixed with some Frenchmen, and are so dexterous at skulking, that their spies, lying about these small forts for some days and taking a prisoner, make certain discoveries of the strength of the garrison; and then, upon observing a scouting party coming out, will first cut it off, and afterwards attempt the fort. Instances of this have lately happened.

"Secondly, our frontiers are of such extent, that if the enemy were to make a formidable attack on one side, before the troops on the other could get to their assistance, they might overrun the country.

"Thirdly, what it must cost the country to build these forts, and to remove stores and provisions into them; and

"Fourthly, and lastly, where and when this expense will end. For we may be assured, if we do not endeavor to remove the cause, we shall be as liable to the same incursions seven years hence as now; indeed *more* so. Because, if the French are allowed to possess those lands

in peace [to the westwards and on the Ohio], they will have the entire command of the Indians, and grow stronger in their alliance; while we, by our defensive schemes and pusillanimous behavior, will exhaust our treasury, reduce our strength, and become the contempt of these savage nations, who are every day enriching themselves with the plunder and spoils of our people.

"It will evidently appear from the whole tenór of my conduct, but more especially from reiterated representations, how strongly I have urged the Governor and Assembly to pursue different measures, and to convince them, by all the reasonings I was capable of offering, of the impossibility of covering so extensive a frontier from Indian incursions, without more force than Virginia *can* maintain. I have endeavored to demonstrate, that it would require fewer men to remove the cause than to prevent the effects while the cause subsists. This, notwithstanding, was the measure adopted, and the plan under which we have acted for eight months past, with the disagreeable reflection of doing no essential service to our country, nor gaining honor to ourselves, or reputation to our regiment. However, under these disadvantageous restraints, the regiment has not been inactive; on the contrary, it has performed a vast deal of work, and has been very alert in defending the people, which will appear by observing that, notwithstanding we are more contiguous to the French and their Indian allies, and more exposed to their frequent incursions than any of the neighboring colonies, we have not lost half the inhabitants which others have done, but considerably more soldiers in their defence. In the course of this campaign, since March, I mean [March, 1756, to end of February, 1757, a full twelve month], (as we have had but one constant campaign, and continued scene of action, since we first en-

tered the service), our troops have been engaged in upwards of twenty skirmishes, and we have had near an hundred men killed and wounded — from a small regiment dispersed over the country, and acting upon the defensive, as ours is by order. This, I conceive, will not appear inconsiderable to those who are in the least degree acquainted with the nature of this service, and the posture of our affairs; however it may seem to chimney corner politicians, who are thirsting for news, and expecting by every express to hear in what manner Fort Duquesne was taken and the garrison led away captive by our small numbers; although we are restrained from making the attempt, were our hopes of success ever so rational!

"The first men raised, if I rightly remember, were under no law; if any, the militia law, which was next of kin to it. But under this we remained a short time, and, instilling notions into the soldiers, who knew no better, that they were governed by the articles of war [Governor Dinwiddie held this view], we felt little inconvenience; and the next campaign we were joined by the regulars, and made subject to their laws. After the regulars left us the Assembly passed an act in September, as before mentioned, to raise 1200 men, and, in order (I suppose) to improve upon the act of Parliament, prepared a military code of their own, but such a one as no military discipline could be preserved by while it lasted. This being represented by the most pressing and repeated remonstrances, induced the Assembly to pass a bill in October following, for one year only, making mutiny and desertion death, but took no cognizance of many other crimes equally punishable by act of Parliament."

After mention of other grievances, especially the wretched character of the service rendered by the militia,

and the effect which all these things had had to make him sick of the service, Washington said in conclusion:

"I do not know, my Lord, in what light this short and disinterested relation may be received by your Lordship; but with the utmost candor and submission it is offered. It contains no misrepresentations, nor aggravated relation of facts, nor unjust reflections.

"Virginia is a country young in war, and, till the breaking out of these disturbances, has remained in the most profound and tranquil peace, never studying war nor warfare. It is not, therefore, to be imagined that she can fall into proper measures at once. All that can be expected at her hands she cheerfully offers,—the sinews of war,—and those only want your Lordship's ability and experience to be properly applied and directed."

The secretary who sent an acknowledgment of the receipt of this communication wrote: "His Lordship seems very much pleased with the accounts you have given him of the situation of affairs to the southward."

Lord Loudoun called a meeting of all the southern governors at Philadelphia, and Washington attended a nine days' conference, March 15–24, 1757. He had established himself in command and fort-building at Fort Cumberland, but at the Philadelphia conference it was decided to have the Virginia troops there withdraw as soon as Maryland could garrison the fort, and this permitted Washington to return to Fort Loudoun (Winchester). From that place he wrote to Richard Washington, a merchant of London, England, April 15, 1757:

"I have been posted for 20 months past upon our cold and barren frontiers, to perform, I think I may say, impossibilities; that is, to protect from the cruel incursions of a crafty, savage enemy a line of inhabitants of more than 350 miles in extent, with a force inadequate to the task."

April 29, 1757, Washington sent a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, in which he carefully reviewed the urgent needs of the service, and the situation at Winchester, and inquired in regard to a proposed change in the terms of his service, which had been 30 shillings a day as pay, and 2 per cent. commissions for examining, settling, and paying off accounts, out of which were met the expenses of his table. The Governor discontinued the 2 per cent. commission, but allowed in place of it a special sum of £200 for table expenses, etc.

To Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Washington wrote May 30th, and again June 10, 1757, urgently representing the bad system in use for securing and employing Indian allies. The French had an agent, with an ample supply of Indian goods, whose sole business it was to manage the Indians under employment. "Unless some person," said Washington, "is appointed to manage the Indian affairs of this colony, under the direction of the Governor, or the southern agent, a vast expense and but little advantage will accrue from the coming of these Indians among us. And I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort as the bearer, Captain Gist. He has had extensive dealings with the Indians, is in great esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, is indefatigable, and patient,— most excellent qualities indeed where Indians are concerned. And for his capacity, honesty, and zeal, I dare venture to engage." The "southern agent," a Mr. Atkin, proposed to appoint Gist to the care of Indian affairs in Virginia, but in the letter of June 10th, Washington said: "A person of a readier pen, and having more time than myself, might amuse you with the vicissitudes of Indian affairs since Mr. Atkin came up."

On another matter Washington declared to Robinson in this letter of June 10, 1757:

"Unless you will interest yourself in sending money to me to discharge the public debts, I must inevitably suffer very considerably, as the country people all think me pledged to them, let what will happen. They are grown very clamorous, and will be more than ever incensed if there should come an inadequate sum, and that sum be appropriated to the payment of the soldiers.

"I am convinced it would give pleasure to the Governor to hear that I was involved in trouble, however undeservedly, such are his dispositions toward me."

Washington found himself about this time under a second commander, besides Governor Dinwiddie, a Colonel Stanwix, appointed by Lord Loudoun to the chief command of the forces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Dinwiddie recognized in a notification to Washington that he was to take his orders from Stanwix, and yet he went on giving orders himself all the same. Washington wrote to Stanwix June 15, 1757, and after reporting a success against a small French and Indian party, further said:

"Our Assembly have granted a further sum of £80,000 for the service of the ensuing year, and have agreed (I believe) to complete their regiment of this colony to 1200 men, besides three companies of rangers of 100 each. Our strength, since the detachment to South Carolina has embarked [200 men, by order of Lord Loudoun], is reduced to 420 rank and file only and these much weakened by the number of posts we hold."

June 20th Washington wrote to Stanwix: "We work on this Fort [at Winchester], both night and day, intending to make it tenable against the worst event." Again June 28th he wrote: "We were reinforced, upon the late

alarm, by 170 militia from the adjacent counties, one half of them unarmed, and the whole without ammunition or provisions." There had been, June 16th, what a few days proved to be a false report, that a large French and Indian force was on the way from Fort Duquesne with a train of artillery, evidently making for Fort Cumberland, and probably aimed at Fort Loudoun at Winchester.

In a letter of July 11, 1757, Washington reported to Governor Dinwiddie that no less than twenty-four more of the drafted men, after receiving their money and clothes, had deserted the night before; and of one party of seven, two had been captured. It seemed to Washington that nothing but the most rigorous measures would have any effect, and he asked the Governor to supply him with blank warrants to execute courts-martial sentences. By a letter of July 20th to Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, Washington complained that many deserters from Virginia were harbored in Maryland, and that "*some* in authority, either from an ill-placed compassion, or from that spirit of opposition to the service which is too prevalent through the continent, have not only countenanced those deserters, but made use of your Excellency's name for that purpose."

To Colonel Stanwix Washington reported July 15, 1757, that out of 400 drafts that he had received 114 had deserted; and that for terror of the rascals he had caused to be erected "a Gallows near 40 feet high," and was determined to hang two or three on it, if he could be justified in it. To the same Washington reported July 30th that of twenty-two deserters who had been apprehended he had caused two to be hanged, but August 27th he wrote to the Governor:

"As your Honor was pleased to leave to my discretion to punish or pardon the criminals, I have resolved on the latter, since I find example of so little weight, and since

those poor unhappy criminals have undergone no small pain of body and mind, in a dark prison, closely ironed."

September 17, 1757, Washington said in a letter to Dinwiddie: "Lenity, so far from producing its desired effects, rather emboldens them in these villainous undertakings. One of those who were condemned to be hanged, deserted immediately upon receiving his pardon. In short, they tire my patience, and almost weary me to death."

Under date of July 29, 1757, Washington issued "General Instructions to all the Captains of Companies" — a document carefully written, from exact and complete knowledge of military duties, and of the special needs of the Virginia situation, and with full manifestation of the highest ideals. In a letter of July 30, 1757, Washington asked Colonel Stanwix for leave of absence August 1st, to attend a "meeting of the executors of an estate that I am much interested in a dividend of, and have suffered much already by the unsettled state it has remained in." In reply Stanwix wrote that he was to act in any such matter at his own discretion, without asking leave. At the same time Dinwiddie, applied to in the same way, was disagreeable enough to refuse leave. August 27th, in a letter to Dinwiddie, Washington said:

"It is with concern I remark that my best endeavors lose their reward, and that my conduct, although I have uniformly studied to make it as unexceptionable as I could, does not appear to you in a favorable point of light."

In his letter of September 17, 1757, to Dinwiddie, Washington said, in regard to an application made directly to the Governor for a commission as lieutenant for William Henry Fairfax:

"If you please to bestow it on Mr. Fairfax, I should take it infinitely kind if you would oblige me so far as to

send the commission immediately from yourself to that gentleman. For although I esteem him greatly on account of his father, for whose memory and friendship I shall ever retain a most grateful sense, yet, making him lieutenant over many old ensigns will occasion great confusion in the corps, and bring censure on me; for the officers will readily conceive that my friendship and partiality for the family were the causes of it. If Mr. Fairfax would accept an ensigncy, the matter might pretty easily be accommodated."

In a second letter of September 17th to Dinwiddie, Washington enclosed a written report of what Mr. Carter said Mr. Robinson told him that he heard Col. Richard Corbin say that Captain Peachy affirmed to him, that the alarm about Indians on the frontier was a baseless scare, in execution of a scheme by which Washington sought to cause the Assembly to levy largely both in men and money. The communication was from Peachy, who pronounced the report scandalous and its author a scoundrel — thus leaving the matter upon Corbin if what Carter said Robinson said, could be trusted. Washington said of it to Dinwiddie:

"I should take it infinitely kind if your Honor would please to inform me whether a report of this nature was ever made to you; and, in that case, who was the author of it?

"It is evident, from a variety of circumstances, and especially from the change in your Honor's conduct towards me, that some person, as well inclined to detract, but better skilled in the art of detraction, than the author of the above stupid scandal, has made free with my character. For I cannot suppose that malice so absurd, so barefaced, so diametrically opposite to truth, to common policy, and, in short, to everything but villainy, as the

above report is, could impress you with so ill an opinion of my honor and honesty.

"If it be possible that Colonel Corbin — (for my belief is staggered, not being conscious of having given the least cause to any one, much less to that gentleman, to reflect so grossly), I say, if it be possible that Colonel Corbin could descend so low as to be the propagator of this story, he must either be vastly ignorant in the state of affairs in this county [Frederick] at *that time*, or else he must suppose that the whole body of the inhabitants had combined with me in executing the deceitful fraud.

It is uncertain in what light my services may have appeared to your Honor; but this I know, and it is the highest consolation I am capable of feeling, that no man, that ever was employed in a public capacity, has endeavored to discharge the trust reposed in him with greater honesty, and more zeal for the country's interest, than I have done; and if there is any person living, who can say with justice, that I have offered any intentional wrong to the public, I will cheerfully submit to the most ignominious punishment that an injured people ought to inflict. On the other hand, it is hard to have my character arraigned, and my actions condemned, without a hearing.

"I must therefore again beg in *more plain*, and in very *earnest terms*, to know if Col. Corbin has taken the liberty of representing my character to your Honor with such ungentlemanly freedom as the letter [of Capt. Peachy] implies."

Dinwiddie replied that the report to Washington's discredit he had never heard of before; that he could not think Colonel Corbin guilty of having started it; and that he had never known of anything to justify it. "But you know," Dinwiddie added, "I had great reason to suspect you of ingratitude, which I am convinced your own con-

science and reflection must allow I had reason to be angry; but this I endeavor to forget. As I have his Majesty's leave to go for England, I propose leaving this in November, and I wish my successor may show you as much friendship as I have done."

To Captain Peachy Washington wrote September 18, 1757:

"In answer to that part [of your letter] which relates to Colonel Corbin's gross and infamous reflections on my conduct last spring, it will be needless, I dare say, to observe further at this time, than that the liberty which he has been pleased to allow himself in sporting with my character, is little else than a comic entertainment, discovering at one view his passionate fondness for your friend, his inviolable love of truth, his unfathomable knowledge, and the masterly strokes of his wisdom in displaying it."

To Governor Dinwiddie Washington wrote from Fort Loudoun (Winchester) September 24, 1757:

"The inhabitants of this valuable and fertile valley are terrified beyond expression [because of "the late depredations in this neighborhood"]. Some have abandoned their plantations, and many are packing up their most valuable effects in order to follow them. Another irruption into the heart of this settlement will, I am afraid, be of fatal consequence to it. I was always persuaded, and almost every day affords new matter for confirming me in the opinion, that the enemy can, with the utmost facility, render abortive every plan which can be concerted, upon our present system of defence; and that the only method of effectually defending such a vast extent of mountains covered with thick woods, as our frontiers, against such an enemy, is by carrying the war into their country. And I think I may, without assuming uncommon penetration, venture to affirm, that, unless an expe-

WASHINGTON TAKING COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

dition is carried on against the Ohio next spring, this country will not be another year in our possession."

October 5th Washington further said: "As I have neglected nothing in my power, it is very evident that nothing but vigorous offensive measures (next campaign) can save the country, at least all west of the Blue Ridge, from inevitable desolation." And of a personal matter he said:

"I do not know that I ever gave your Honor cause to suspect me of ingratitude, a crime I detest, and would most carefully avoid. If an open, disinterested behavior carries offence, I may have offended; because I have all along laid it down as a maxim, to represent facts freely and impartially, but no more to others than I have to you, Sir. If instances of my ungrateful behavior had been particularized, I would have answered to them. But I have long been convinced, that my actions and their motives have been maliciously aggravated."

To Colonel Stanwix Washington wrote, October 8, 1757, from Fort Loudoun:

"I exert every means in my power to protect a much distressed country, but it is a task too arduous. To think of defending a frontier, as ours is, of more than 350 miles extent, with only 700 men, is vain and idle, especially when that frontier lies more contiguous to the enemy than any other. I am, and have for a long time been, fully convinced that, if we continue to pursue a defensive plan, the country must be inevitably lost."

October 9, 1757, Washington wrote to Dinwiddie of the lawless thieving practiced by the Tippling-House keepers, receiving and concealing stores, arms, etc., belonging to the regiment, and of the rascally, illegal conduct of the justices in giving no redress through the courts. Again, October 24th, he wrote to Dinwiddie of the inevitable destruction of the country about Winchester unless a new

policy could be put in execution. To Speaker Robinson he urged the same views in a letter of October 25th. His last letter to Dinwiddie was one of November 5th, in regard to Indian affairs under the very bad system administered by the agent, Atkin. Dinwiddie sailed for England in January, after Washington had gone home to Mount Vernon under a severe indisposition which brought him so low with dysentery and fever that it was more than four months before he was able to resume his command. Speaker Robinson wrote to him in reply to his letter of October 25th:

"We have not yet heard who is to succeed him. God grant it may be somebody better acquainted with the unhappy business we have in hand, and who, by his conduct and counsel, may dispel the cloud now hanging over this distressed country. Till that event, I beg, my dear friend, that you will bear, so far as a man of honor ought, the discouragements and slights you have too often met with, and continue to serve your country, as I am convinced you have always hitherto done, in the best manner you can with the small assistance afforded you."]

The laborious and unintermitted devotion to his duties proved at the close of the year 1757 so injurious to the health of Washington that he yielded to the entreaties of his physician, withdrew from the army, and retired to Mount Vernon (1757). But it was not his fortune to enjoy, even there, a refreshing repose that might renovate his strength. Prostrated by a lingering and debilitating fever he was disqualified for duty, and he was unable to return to the army until after the lapse of four months.

It was a source of pleasing reflection to him however as he lay on his bed of sickness, or enjoyed the calm delights of his retreat at Mount Vernon, that his efforts in his

country's cause had not been altogether ineffectual. He had traversed the whole frontier and become familiarly acquainted with its condition and its wants; he had succeeded in awakening a general and deep feeling in behalf of the suffering borderers; he had vindicated himself from the unfavorable insinuations of secret enemies; he had induced the Assembly to erect at Winchester a large fort called Fort Loudoun, in honor of the British commander-in-chief; and he had promptly and vigorously constructed the military works proposed by the Burgesses, visiting these works in person, and amid many perils in the wilderness bringing his labors in great part to a successful issue. He had also, by his earnest recommendation, directed the public mind to the importance of capturing Fort Duquesne and to the necessity of speedy measures for this purpose.

In his retirement his mind dwelt continually upon the interesting subjects associated with the defenses of the frontier, and especially upon the capture of Fort Duquesne as a grand climacteric. In the progress of events, during the next year, it was his good fortune and great joy to see that stronghold of his country's cruel enemies reduced, and to take an active and prominent part in measures which restored peace and prosperity to those regions where a savage and merciless warfare had so long been spreading desolation.

[Sparks remarks as follows on the campaign from which Washington retired worn out and dangerously sick:

"The campaign, being a defensive one, presented no opportunities for acquiring glory; but the demands on the resources and address of the commander were not the less pressing. The scene varied little from that of the preceding year, except that the difficulties were more numerous and complicatd. There were the same unceasing incursions of the savages, but more sanguinary and terri-

fying, the same tardiness in the enlistments, the same troubles with the militia, the same neglect in supplying the wants of the army; and on every side were heard murmurs of discontent from the soldiers, and cries of distress from the inhabitants.

"And what increased these vexations was, that the governor, tenacious of his authority, intrusted as little power as possible to the head of the army. Totally unskilled in military affairs, and residing two hundred miles from the scene of action, he yet undertook to regulate the principal operations, sending expresses back and forth, and issuing vague and contradictory orders, seldom adapted to circumstances, frequently impracticable. This absurd interference was borne with becoming patience and fortitude by the Commander-in-Chief; but not without keen remonstrance to the Speaker of the Assembly and other friends, against being made responsible for military events, while the power to control them was withheld, or so heavily clogged as to paralyze its action. The patriotic party in the legislature sympathized with him, and would gladly have procured redress, had not the governor possessed prerogatives, which they could not encroach upon, and which he seemed ambitious to exercise; the more so, perhaps, as the leaders of the majority, learning his foible in this respect, had thwarted many of his schemes, and especially had assumed to themselves the appropriation of the public moneys, which by ancient usage had been under the direction of the Governor and Council."

The muddle created by the senseless meddling of Dinwiddie, after Colonel Stanwix had come into chief British command, and the contrast between Dinwiddie and Stanwix, are brought out by Sparks in the following:

"During the summer of 1757, Colonel Washington was in some sort under the command of Colonel Stanwix,

but to what extent he did not know, as he had received no instructions on that head, and the Governor continued to issue his orders as formerly. At length the Governor wrote as follows;—'Colonel Stanwix being appointed Commander-in-Chief [of the middle and southern provinces], you must submit to his orders, without regard to any you may receive from me; he, being near the place, can direct affairs better than I can.' This was peculiarly agreeable to the Commander of the Virginia regiment; for Colonel Stanwix was a military man, and a gentleman of an elevated and liberal spirit. His letters bear a high testimony to his good sense, as well as to the delicacy of his feelings, the amenity of his temper, and the generosity of his character.

"Notwithstanding the above direction, the Governor did not cease to write, give commands, require returns, and utter complaints as usual, thereby increasing the endless perplexities and bewildering doubts, with which Colonel Washington was harassed in all his plans and operations.

"He had requested leave of absence from Governor Dinwiddie for a few days to attend to certain private affairs, of a very pressing nature, at Mount Vernon. He afterwards repeated this request, and, as he seemed to be under two commanders, he thought it expedient to consult them both. The Governor answered;—'As to the settlement of your brother's estate, your absence on that account from Fort Loudoun must be suspended, till our affairs give a better prospect.' Colonel Stanwix replied to the same request;—'More than two weeks ago I answered your letter, in which you mentioned its being convenient to your private affairs to attend to them for a fortnight. In that answer I expressed my concern, that you should think such a thing necessary to mention to me, as I am sure you would not choose to be out of call, should the

service require your immediate attendance; and I hope you will always take that liberty upon yourself, which I hope you will now do."

In closing the Dinwiddie chapter of Washington's career Sparks remarks very justly:

"As a school of experience it ultimately proved advantageous to him. It was his good fortune, likewise, to gain honor and reputation even in so barren a field, by retaining the confidence of his fellow citizens, and fulfilling the expectations of his friends in the legislature, who had pressed upon him the command, and urged his holding it.

"But the fatigue of body and mind, which he suffered from the severity of his labors, gradually undermined his strength, and his physician insisted on his retiring from the army. He went to Mount Vernon, where his disease settled into a fever, and reduced him so low, that he was confined four months, till the 1st of March, 1758, before he was able to resume his command."]

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1758 —WASHINGTON'S MARRIAGE.

1758.

WASHINGTON was at Fredericksburg, January 31, 1758, and wrote to his cordial friend, John Blair, president of the Council and acting Governor, in regard to the inopportune arrival then expected of a considerable party of Indians. Twenty days later he wrote again:

"I set out for Williamsburg the day after the date of my letter, but found I was unable to proceed, my fever and pain increasing upon me to a high degree; and the physicians assured me, that I might endanger my life by prosecuting the journey."

From Mount Vernon, March 4, 1758, Washington wrote:

"I have never been able to return to my command, since I wrote to you last, my disorder at times returning obstinately upon me, in spite of the efforts of all the sons of Æsculapius, whom I have hitherto consulted. At certain periods I have been reduced to great extremity, and have now too much reason to apprehend an approaching decay, being visited with several symptoms of such a disease.

"I am now under a strict regimen, and shall set out tomorrow for Williamsburg to receive the advice of the best physicians there. My constitution is certainly greatly impaired, and as nothing can retrieve it but the greatest care and the most circumspect conduct; as I now have

no prospect left of preferment in the military way; and as I despair of rendering that immediate service which my country may require from the person commanding their troops, I have some thoughts of quitting my command, and retiring from all public business, leaving my post to be filled by some other person more capable of the task, and who may, perhaps, have his endeavors crowned with better success than mine have been."]

The campaign of 1758 was destined to terminate Washington's doubts and anxieties. In April of this year he was in command at Fort Loudoun with improved health. His old enemy, the wrong-headed and pragmatical Governor Dinwiddie, had yielded his place to Mr. Francis Fauquier, until whose arrival from England an old friend of Washington, Mr. John Blair, president of Council, was acting Governor.

A change not less auspicious had taken place in the administration of affairs in the mother country. The activity of the French and the supineness of the English in the recent campaigns in America seemed to threaten the loss of the Colonies. The British nation had become alarmed and indignant and the King had found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of the new ministry he placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterward Earl of Chatham, pre-eminently a man of action, who from the humble post of ensign in the Guards had raised himself to his present elevated position. Under his administration, public confidence, not only in England, but in the Colonies, at once revived and all were inspired with new life and vigor. He was equally popular in both hemispheres, and so promptly did the Governors of the northern Colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter of 1757 that by May, in the following year Massachusetts had 7,000, Connecticut 5,000,

and New Hampshire 3,000 troops prepared to take the field.* The authorities of the mother country were not less active. While British fleets were blockading or capturing the French armaments intended for America, Admiral Boscawen was dispatched to Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships and an army of 12,000 men. The imbecile and dilatory Lord Loudoun was recalled and General Abercrombie placed in the chief command who, early in the spring, was ready to enter upon the campaign with an army of 50,000 men, the largest ever embodied in America.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign: The first, Louisburg; the second, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, Fort Duquesne. In the last of these expeditions, Washington, to his great joy, was destined to take a part; but as its success was entirely dependent, in the sequel, on the operations of the other two, it becomes necessary first to notice them somewhat in detail.

The expedition against Louisburg was conducted by General Amherst, assisted by the remarkable military skill and daring enterprise of General Wolfe, destined, in the next

* The arrangements made by Pitt with reference to the relative rank of royal and provincial troops, and the relative expenses of the crown and the colonies, were not less satisfactory than his prompt and energetic measures for carrying on the campaign.

"He stipulated that the colonial troops raised for this purpose should be supplied with arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions in the same manner as the regular troops, and at the King's expense; so that the only charge to the Colonies would be that of levying, clothing, and paying the men. The Governors were also authorized to issue commissions to provincial officers, from colonels downward, and these officers were to hold rank in the united army according to their commissions. Had this liberal and just system been adopted at the outset, it would have put a very different face upon the military affairs of the Colonies."— Sparks's "Writings of Washington," vol. II, p. 289, note.

campaign, to become the conqueror of Quebec. Richard Montgomery, whose immortality was afterward won under other auspices before the same city, also served in this expedition as a subaltern, and gained promotion from Wolfe for his gallantry.

On the 28th of May (1758) the expedition sailed from Halifax, the fleet under command of Admiral Boscawen being composed of twenty ships-of-the-line and eighteen frigates, and the army, under General Amherst, of 14,000 men. They arrived in Cabarus bay on the 2d of June. The garrison of Louisburg, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of 2,500 regulars, aided by 600 militia and Indians. The harbor being secured by five ships-of-the-line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, it was found necessary to land at some distance from the town. Prevented from landing by a heavy surf until the 8th, the brave Wolfe then led the army in three divisions of boats to nearly the same place where the small army of New England men, under the command of the able and courageous Lieut.-Gen. William Pepperrell, had landed to besiege and capture Louisburg in 1745.

The enemy were arrayed along the shore, and, after making some resistance to the impetuous onset of Wolfe, fled to the city. The British lost in killed or drowned forty-three regulars and six provincials, and the French lost two lieutenants killed and seventy prisoners. Two large guns and thirty-two small ones, planted along the shore, were taken, with their ammunition. The French destroyed the fortress to which they had given the name of Royal Battery and called in their outposts. The artillery and stores were now brought on shore, and General Wolfe with 1,800 men marched around Green Hill and the northeast harbor

to the lighthouse, which the enemy deserted, destroying their cannon. Several strong batteries were forthwith added to those erected by the enemy on this spot, which commanded the eastern side of the harbor. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town and the siege was steadily though cautiously continued. A French frigate attempting to escape from the harbor was captured. A heavy cannonade being kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbor, a bomb set on fire and blew up one of the largest ships, and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate (July 21, 1758). The batteries erected at the lighthouse meantime had silenced the battery of the enemy, situated on one of the islands at the entrance of the harbor.

On July 25th the admiral sent in 600 men in the night to destroy the two remaining ships-of-the-line, who burnt the Prudent, a seventy-four, and towed off the Bienfaisant, a sixty-four, to the northeast harbor. This gallant exploit putting the English in complete possession of the harbor, and several breaches having been made practicable in the works, the brave Drucour, finding the place no longer tenable, proposed terms of capitulation. The English commanders, who were on the point of sending six ships into the harbor to aid in an assault, required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war. Drucour at first rejected these humiliating terms and determined to hold out to the last, but overcome by the importunities of the suffering inhabitants of the town he at length acceded to the conditions prescribed; and Louisburg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, together with Island Royal, St. Johns, and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who at once took possession of the island of Cape Breton. They found 221 pieces of cannon and

eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition in the fortress. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships, but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collectively to 3,291 men, were carried prisoners to England. The news of the brilliant success of the expedition was received with great rejoicing throughout the Colonies, and the event was triumphantly celebrated in London.

Soon after the surrender of Louisburg, General Wolfe returned to England, while General Amherst* sailed with part of his army to Boston and from thence marched to Fort William Henry to take part in the second expedition of the campaign, the leading incidents of which we now proceed to notice.

The force destined for the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point consisted of 16,000 men, attended by a powerful train of artillery, and led by the commander-in-chief, General Abercrombie. Subordinate to him, in command of 5,000 of these men, was George Howe, lord viscount, the most popular of all the British officers who ever

* Like Wolfe, Amherst was selected by Chatham to aid in the execution of that eminent statesman's great military designs; and his success proved that the minister had formed a just estimate of his courage and ability. The services which he rendered to Great Britain in America fully entitled him to the honors with which he was afterward rewarded. He was described as having been "a thorough good soldier:" cautious but enterprising; temperate and collected in the greatest difficulties; strict in the enforcement of discipline, yet averse to mere military parade, and particularly kind to the men under his command. He erected a column, near his residence at Riverhead, commemorating the escape of himself and his two brothers, Lieutenant-General and Admiral Amherst. from the perils of war; and recording those successes of the British forces in Canada, to which he had materially contributed by his bravery and skill.

served in the Colonies. Abercrombie was as remarkable for timidity and imbecility as Howe was for courage and enterprise.

On the 5th of July (1758) Abercrombie embarked his troops on Lake George on board of 125 whale-boats and 900 batteaux, with rafts for the artillery, and passing down the lake landed on the west side near its outlet. The troops were formed into four columns, the British in the center and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched toward the advanced guard of the French which, consisting of one battalion only, posted in a log breast-work, set fire to their camp and made a precipitate retreat.

While Abercrombie was urging forward his march through the woods toward Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture Lord Howe, at the head of the right center column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy, who had lost their way in the woods in retreating from Lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing 300 of the enemy and taking 148 prisoners. This success however was dearly purchased by the death of Lord Howe* himself, who fell at the first fire.

Abercrombie ordered the troops to fall back to the landing place on Lake George and bivouac for the night. The

* George Howe, Lord Viscount, was the eldest son of Sir E. Scrope, second lord viscount in Ireland. He commanded five thousand British troops, which arrived at Halifax in July, 1757. The next year, when Abercrombie marched against Ticonderoga, in an attack on the advanced guard of the French posted in the woods, Lord Howe fell at the first fire, in July, 1758, aged 33. "In him," says Manto, "the soul of the army seemed to expire." By his military talents and many virtues, he had acquired esteem and affection. Massachusetts erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, at an expense of £250.

master-spirit of the enterprise was no more, and the incapable Abercrombie was left to encounter the able and indefatigable Montcalm. This officer, who was in command at Ticonderoga, had caused trees to be felled in front of the breastwork of the fortress at some distance, having some of their branches sharpened to a point, so as to retard assailants and entangle them in the branches.

The engineer sent forward by Abercrombie the next morning to reconnoiter the works seems not to have noticed the character of this *abattis* as, on his return, he reported that the works were unfinished and might easily be taken. Abercrombie, posted at some sawmills two miles from the fort, without waiting for his artillery, ordered an immediate assault (July 8, 1758). The contest lasted four hours. The soldiers fought bravely, but were cut down by the merciless fire of the French, securely posted behind their works, and the result was a defeat, with the loss of 2,000 men and 2,500 stand of arms. Abercrombie ordered a retreat to his former camp on the south side of Lake George, whence he immediately recrossed the lake, and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga.*

The only success accomplished by this portion of the army during the campaign is due to the enterprise of one of the heroes of Louisburg.

Col. John Bradstreet, who had served as captain in Lieutenant-General Pepperrell's regiment at Louisburg in 1745, and his intimate friend and protégé, was in this disastrous engagement against Ticonderoga with Abercrombie, and immediately afterward earnestly solicited permission to march against Fort Frontenac, near the head

* This defeat induced Pitt to order Abercrombie home, and to give the command to Amherst, who had returned from Louisburg. Amherst marched back, and commanded the army on Lake Champlain to the end of the war.

of Lake Ontario, with a force of 3,000 men, chiefly provincial militia,* carrying eight pieces of cannon and two mortars. The troops embarked at Oswego on the evening of the 25th of August (1758), and landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac which, after a spirited assault of two days, surrendered at discretion. The Indians having previously deserted left but 110 prisoners of war. But the captors found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, a large number of small arms, a vast quantity of provisions, military stores, and merchandise, and nine armed vessels. Having destroyed the fort, vessels, and stores, Colonel Bradstreet returned to the main army. For this noble achievement,† he was subsequently pro-

*The proportions, as given by Dr. Parsons in his "Life of Sir William Pepperrell," are as follows:

Regulars	135
New York Provincial Militia	1,112
New Jersey Provincial Militia	412
Boston Provincial Militia	675
Rhode Island Provincial Militia	318
Batteau men	300
	2,952

†John Bradstreet was born in England. He was Lieutenant-Governor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, in 1746. He was afterward renowned for his military services. In the year 1756, it being deemed of the highest importance to keep open the communication with Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, General Shirley enlisted forty companies of boatmen, and placed them under the command of Bradstreet, to effect this object. In the spring of this year, a well-stockaded post of twenty-five men had been cut off. The enemy having possession of the passage through the Onondaga river, rendered it necessary to transport the requisite boats across the country. On his return from Oswego in July, 1756, Colonel Bradstreet, who was apprehensive of being surprised, ordered the several divisions to keep as close together as possible. He was at the head of about three hundred boatmen in the first division, when,

moted to the rank of brigadier-general in the royal army, to the great joy and satisfaction of his old commander and patron, Sir William Pepperrell.

The fall of Frontenac cut off the supplies intended for Fort Duquesne and hastened its reduction.

We now proceed to notice the operations of the third expedition of the campaign of 1758, that, namely, which was intended for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, in which Washington took a very active part. We left him at Fort Loudoun, writing to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses on the importance of carrying the war into the enemy's country. His wishes in this respect were now to be gratified, and that on an extensive scale, and yet perhaps there is not a period in the whole career of Washington during which his patience and patriotism were more severely tried than during the progress of this expedition. The army destined to operate against Fort Duquesne was placed under the command of General Forbes, and the force at his disposal was more than sufficient for the purpose, but the measures adopted by him were as badly conceived as if they had been expressly intended to defeat the expedition.*

at the distance of nine miles from the fort, the enemy issued from an ambuscade and attacked him. He instantly landed upon a small island, and, with only six men, maintained his position until he was reinforced. A general engagement ensued, in which Bradstreet gallantly attacked a more numerous enemy, and entirely routed them, killing and wounding about two hundred men. His own loss was about thirty. In the year 1758, he planned an expedition against Fort Frontenac, and being intrusted with the command of 3,000 men, he invested the fort and compelled the garrison to surrender on the 27th of August. In 1764, he compelled the Delawares, Shawnees, and other Indians, to conclude treaties of peace. He was appointed general in 1772, and died in 1774.

* "The troops actually employed under General Forbes were 1,200 Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, about 2,700 provincials from Pennsylvania, 1,600 from Virginia, two or three hundred from Mary-

The Virginia Assembly promptly complied with the requisition of the minister, furnishing two regiments, amounting to 1,800 men as their contingent. One of these was commanded by Colonel Washington, who still retained his rank as commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces. The other was under the command of Colonel Byrd. Washington warmly recommended an early campaign for this among other reasons: Seven hundred Indians had in April (1758) assembled at Winchester, whose patience would be exhausted unless they were promptly employed, and in the event of their desertion he observes: "No words can tell how much they will be missed." He was at length ordered to collect the Virginia troops at Winchester, and hold them in readiness for active service. At this late moment, when the duties of the field demanded all his attention, he was under the necessity of making a journey to Williamsburg, the seat of government, in order to obtain a supply of arms, clothing, and money for his regiment, and to secure for his own veteran soldiers the same pay which the Assembly, in their recent session, had voted for the new regiment raised for the present campaign. While he was training the newly-enlisted soldiers and preparing supplies and the means of transportation the soldiers were becoming impatient, and the Indians, as he had anticipated, grew discontented, and nearly all of them returned to their homes.

While Washington was thus occupied at Winchester, General Forbes was detained by illness at Philadelphia, and

land, who had been stationed in garrison at Fort Frederic, under Colonel Dagworthy, and also two companies from North Carolina, making in all, including the wagoners, between six and seven thousand men. This army was more than five months penetrating to the Ohio, where it was found, at last, that they had to oppose only five hundred of the enemy."— Sparks's "Writings of Washington," vol. II, p. 289, note.

Colonel Bouquet was in command at Raystown, thirty miles from Fort Cumberland. The intermediate place between this point and Washington's quarters at Winchester was designated for conferences between him, Colonel Bouquet, and the quartermaster-general, Sir John St. Clair, in order to determine a uniform plan of action and make the necessary arrangements.

[In view of an offensive campaign against the French and Indians on the Ohio,— a repetition of the design which Braddock's terrible defeat interrupted, Washington wrote to one of Braddock's officers, Major Halket, April 12, 1758:

"Are we to have you once more among us? And shall we revisit together a hapless spot, that proved so fatal to many of our (former) brave companions? Yes; and I rejoice at it, hoping it will now be in our power to testify a just abhorrence of the cruel butchery exercised on our friends in the unfortunate day of Braddock's defeat; and, moreover, to show our enemies, that we *can* practise all that lenity of which they *only* boast, without affording any adequate proofs at all."

In a letter of April 17, 1758, to the President of the Council, Washington said:

"The last Assembly, in their Supply Bill, provided for a chaplain to our regiment, for whom I had often very unsuccessfully applied to Governor Dinwiddie. I now flatter myself, that your Honor will be pleased to appoint a sober, serious man for this duty. Common decency, Sir, in a camp calls for the services of a divine, and which ought not to be dispensed with, although the world should be so uncharitable as to think us void of religion, and incapable of good instructions."

At Williamsburg, May 28, 1758, Washington wrote a long statement of the needs of his troops, and of the ser-

vice to be required of them. He began: "I came here at this critical juncture, by the express order of Sir John St. Clair, to represent in the fullest manner the posture of our affairs at Winchester, and to obviate any doubts that might arise from the best written narrative. I shall make use of the following method, as the most effectual I can at present suggest, to lay sundry matters before you, for your information, approbation, and direction." The letter goes on with a statement under twelve heads, for the first of which a letter from Sir John St. Clair is submitted.

It was an incident of this journey to Williamsburg, and the stay there which the business required, which led to Washington's marriage engagement. Irving tells the story as follows, after an account of the gathering at Winchester of the troops which were to be under Washington's command:

"The force thus assembling was in want of arms, tents, field-equipage, and almost every requisite. Washington had made repeated representations, by letter, of the destitute state of the Virginia troops, but without avail; he was now ordered by Sir John St. Clair, the quartermaster-general of the forces, under General Forbes, to repair to Williamsburg, and lay the state of the case before the council. He set off promptly on horseback attended by Bishop, the well-trained military servant, who had served the late General Braddock. It proved an eventful journey, though not in a military point of view. In crossing a ferry of the Pamunkey, a branch of York River, he fell in company with a Mr. Chamberlayne, who lived in the neighborhood, and who, in the spirit of Virginian hospitality, claimed him as a guest. It was with difficulty Washington could be prevailed on to halt for dinner, so

impatient was he to arrive at Williamsburg, and accomplish his mission.

"Among the guests at Mr. Chamberlayne's was a young and blooming widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, daughter of Mr. John Dandridge, both patrician names in the province. Her husband, John Parke Custis, had been dead about three years, leaving her with two young children, and a large fortune. She is represented as being rather below the middle size, but extremely well shaped, with an agreeable countenance, dark hazel eyes and hair, and those frank, engaging manners, so captivating in Southern women. We are not informed whether Washington had met with her before; probably not during her widowhood, as during that time he had been almost continually on the frontier.

"It was not until the next morning that he was again in the saddle, spurring for Williamsburg. Happily the White House, the residence of Mrs. Custis, was in New Kent County, at no great distance from that city, so that he had opportunities of visiting her in the intervals of business.

"Before returning to Winchester, Washington was obliged to hold conferences with Sir John St. Clair and Colonel Bouquet, at an intermediate rendezvous, to give them information respecting the frontiers, and arrange about the marching of his troops."

It was on the 13th of June, after about three weeks' stay at Williamsburg, that Washington returned to his command; and on the 24th he marched from Winchester for Fort Cumberland. A month later, July 20th, he sent the following letter from Fort Cumberland:

"To Martha Custis.

"We have begun our march for the Ohio. A courier is starting for Williamsburg, and I embrace the opportun-

ity to send a few words to one whose life is now inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other, my thoughts have been continually going to you as to another self. That an All Powerful Providence may keep us both in safety is the prayer of your ever faithful & Ever affectionate Friend,

G°. Washington."

June 19, 1758, Washington wrote to General Forbes a letter of suggestions in regard to the employment of Indian allies. The march, he said, "of more than 100 miles from our advanced post [at Fort Cumberland], before we shall arrive at Fort Duquesne; a great part of which will be over mountains and rocks, and through defiles; will enable the enemy, with their superior knowledge of the country, to render extremely arduous, unsafe, and, at best, tedious, our intended expedition, unless we also can be assisted by a body of Indians,— the best, if not the *only* troops fit to cope with Indians in such grounds." In view, therefore, of the extreme importance of Indian aid, Washington proposed that "A person of abilities and address be sent immediately to the Cherokee nation to get a number of the Indians to our assistance," while the plan of army advances was being worked out.

The same day Washington sent a letter to Fauquier, the new Governor, calling his attention to the scandalous fashion in which an order calling out 100 militia had been complied with. "73 only came; and not one of them provided, as the law directs, with arms and ammunition." Upon representation of the matter in the proper quarter, "near 100 arms were sent, out of which number scarce five were serviceable, and not more than 30 could be made to fire." Washington adds: "I immediately set smiths to repairing the arms, and I have, with the assistance of 35 old muskets, which I caused to be delivered

out of the store here, got this company at last completed [in outfit — not in numbers, as there were but 68, when there ought to have been 100.]. Till this time they have been a *dead* expense to the public, and of no service to the inhabitants. This, Sir, is a true statement of facts, and really merits reprehension: for, if such behavior is suffered to escape unnoticed, the most destructive consequences may accrue."]

At length Washington received the long-desired order to advance with the Virginia regiments from Winchester to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived early in July (1758).*

[Marching from Winchester, June 24th, "with five companies of the First Virginia regiment, and a company of artificers of the Second," Washington, "much delayed by

* The following extract from a letter of Robert Munford to Colonel Bland, dated Fort Cumberland, July 6, 1758, gives us a glimpse of camp life, and of the estimation in which Washington was held, at that time, by the officers serving under his command:

"After being delayed at Winchester five or six weeks longer than expected (in which time, I was ordered express to Williamsburg, and allowed but a day after my return to prepare), we pushed off into the wide ocean. I was permitted to walk every step of the way to this humble fort, to eat little, and lay hard, over mountain, through mud and water, yet as merry and hearty as ever. Our flankers and sentries pretend they saw the enemy daily, but they never approached us. A detachment is this moment ordered off to clear a road thirty miles, and our companies to cover the working party. We are in fine scalping-ground, I assure you; the guns pop about us, and you may see the fellows prick up their ears, like deer, every moment. Our colonel (Washington) is an example of fortitude in either danger or hardships, and by his easy, polite behavior, has gained not only the regard but affection of both officers and soldiers. He has kindly invited me to his table for the campaign, offered me any sum of money I may have occasion for, without charging either principal or interest, and signified his approbation of my conduct hitherto in such a manner as is to me of advantage."— Bland Papers, p. 9.

bad teams and bad roads," arrived at camp near Fort Cumberland, July 2d, in the afternoon.

July 19th, Washington said in a letter to Colonel Bouquet, the commander of the expedition:

"I am excessively obliged by the very handsome and polite manner, by which you are pleased to give me leave to attend the election at Winchester. Though my being there on that occasion would, at any other time, be very agreeable to me, yet at this juncture I can hardly persuade myself to think of being absent from my more immediate duty, even for a few days."

This refers to Washington's standing for election as one of the two members of the House of Burgesses for Frederick county. The election took place July 24th, and the result of the poll was, Washington, 307; Colonel Martin, a nephew of Lord Fairfax, 240; and two others, 199 and 45, respectively. These same two now defeated had been elected on a previous occasion with 271 and 270 votes, while Washington, who was also a candidate, got only 40 votes. At least such an election report was found among his papers, but with no indication of date. It was in a letter of May 25, 1755, that Washington asked his brother, John A. Washington, to ascertain how matters stood, favorable or unfavorable to his standing as a candidate.

To one of his supporters in the election, Washington wrote, July 29, 1758:

"Permit me to return you my sincerest thanks for your great assistance at the late election, and to assure you that I shall ever retain a lively sense of the favor.

"Our expedition seems overcast with too many ills to give you any satisfaction in a transient relation of them. God knows what's intended; for nothing seems ripe for

execution; backwardness, and I would if I dare say more, appears in all things — all but the approach of winter."

To Colonel James Wood, who was known in the "far west" of Virginia as the "founder" of Winchester, and who had personally represented Washington in the election proceedings, Washington wrote:

"If thanks from a heart replete with joy and gratitude can in any measure compensate for the fatigue, anxiety, and pain, you had at my election, be assured you have them.

"How I shall thank Mrs. Wood for her favorable wishes, and how acknowledge my sense of obligations to the people in general for their choice of me, I am at a loss to resolve on. But why? Can I do it more effectually than by making their interest (as it really is) my own, and doing everything that lies in my little power for the honor and welfare of the country? I think not; and my best endeavors they may always command. I promise this now, when promises may be regarded; before they might pass as words of course.

"I am extremely thankful to you and my other friends for entertaining the freeholders in my name. I hope no exception was taken to any that voted against me, but that all were alike treated and all had enough. My only fear is that you spent with too sparing a hand."

One of Washington's friends had said in a letter to him immediately after the election:

"The punctual discharge of every trust, your humane and equitable treatment of each individual, and your ardent zeal for the common cause, have gained your point with credit; as your friends could, with the greatest warmth and truth, urge the worth of those noble endowments and principles, as well as your superior interest both here and in the House." "Considering the command," says Sparks,

" which he had been obliged to exercise in Frederic County for near five years, and the restraints which the exigency of circumstances required him occasionally to put upon the inhabitants, this result was deemed a triumphant proof of his abilities, address, and power to win the affections and confidence of the people."

" From this time till the beginning of the revolution, a period of fifteen years, Washington was constantly a member of the House of Burgesses, being returned by a large majority of votes at every election. For seven years he represented, jointly with another delegate, the County of Frederic, in which Winchester was, and afterwards the County of Fairfax, in which he resided. There were commonly two sessions in a year, and sometimes three. It appears, from a record left in his handwriting, that he gave his attendance punctually, and from the beginning to the end of almost every session. It was a maxim with him through life, to execute punctually and thoroughly every charge which he undertook.

" His influence in public bodies was produced more by the soundness of his judgment, his quick perceptions, and his directness and undeviating sincerity, than by eloquence or art in recommending his opinions. He seldom spoke, never harangued, and it is not known that he ever made a set speech, or entered into a stormy debate. But his attention was at all times awake. He studied profoundly the prominent topics of discussion, and, whenever occasion required, was prepared to deliver his sentiments clearly, and to act with decision and firmness. His practice may be inferred from the counsel he gave to a nephew, who had just taken his seat for the first time in the Assembly.

" ' The only advice I will offer,' said he, ' if you have a mind to command the attention of the House, is to speak seldom but on important subjects, except such as

particularly relate to your constituents; and, in the former case, make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust.'"

Sparks gives an account of Washington's action in a meeting of the parish of Truro, which shows exactly what kind of speaker he was. Sparks says:

"In the affairs of Truro Parish, to which Mount Vernon belonged, he took a lively concern and exercised a salutary control. He was a vestryman of that parish. On one occasion he gained a triumph of some moment, which Mr. Massey, the clergyman, who lived to an advanced age, used to mention as an instance of his address. The old church was falling to ruin, and it was resolved that another should be built. Several meetings were held, and a warm dispute arose respecting its location, the old one being remote from the center, and inconveniently situated for many of the parishoners. A meeting for settling the question was finally held. George Mason, who led the party that adhered to the ancient site, made an eloquent harangue, in which he appealed with great effect to the sensibilities of the people, conjuring them not to desert the spot consecrated by the bones of their ancestors and the most hallowed associations. Mr. Massey said every one present seemed moved by this discourse, and for the moment, he thought there would not be a dissenting voice. Washington then rose and drew from his pocket a roll of paper, containing an exact survey of Truro Parish, on which was marked the site of the old church, the proposed site of the new one, and the place where each parishoner resided. He spread this map before the audience, explained it in a few words, and then added, that it was for them to determine, whether they

would be carried away by an impulse of feeling, or act upon the obvious principles of reason and justice. The argument, thus confirmed by ocular demonstration, was conclusive, and the church was erected on the new site."

George Mason, of Gunston Hall, was a neighbor and intimate friend of Washington; and intellectually at the head of the citizenship of Virginia, until Washington rose to a height reached by no one who, at any time or anywhere, came into comparison with him. The common impression that he was no speaker, or at least had no habit of speaking, is entirely erroneous. Both as a writer and as a speaker he was head and shoulders above the most notable of his time, with the difference that in speaking he went right to the point, put the matter unanswerably, and had carried conviction before an orator would have got his eloquence under way.]

Through the month the troops were employed in opening a new road from Fort Cumberland to Raystown, and repairing the old one leading toward the Great Meadows. As they were greatly annoyed in this service by flying parties of the enemy it was proposed to send a considerable detachment over the mountains to restrain the French and Indians from this annoyance; but Colonel Washington strongly objected to this measure because the detachment would be exposed to the whole force of the enemy on the Ohio and must be defeated. The plan was in consequence given up, and by his advice frequent scouts were substituted.

Washington's excellent judgment in this matter was fully illustrated by the subsequent disaster which befel the detachment of Colonel Grant.

While Colonel Washington was posted at Fort Cumberland he adopted a style of dress for the soldiers which is supposed by Mr. Irving to have given rise to the dress

worn by American riflemen in the subsequent wars. It was the Indian dress. In a letter to Colonel Bouquet dated July 3, 1758, he thus alludes to it:

"My men are very bare of regimental clothing, and I have no prospect of a supply. So far from regretting this want during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclinations, I would not only order the men to adopt the Indian dress but cause the officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation causes me to hesitate a moment to leave my regimentals at this place and proceed as light as any Indian in the woods. It is an unbecoming dress I own for any officer, but convenience, rather than show, I think, should be consulted. The reduction of bat-horses alone would be sufficient to recommend it, for nothing is more certain than that less baggage would be required and the public benefited in proportion."

From a letter addressed by him to Colonel Bouquet dated July 9th we learn that his plan was adopted, and found to answer an excellent purpose. In this letter he thus expresses himself:

"It gives me great pleasure to find that you approve the dress I have put my men into. It is evident that soldiers in that trim are better able to carry their provisions, are fitter for the active service we must engage in, less liable to sink under the fatigues of a march, and we thus get rid of much baggage which would lengthen our line of march. These and not whim or caprice were my reasons for ordering this dress."

A practicable military road having been opened for the passage of General Braddock's army to Fort Duquesne, Colonel Washington had taken it for granted that this

would be the route taken by General Forbes' army in the present campaign. We may imagine therefore his surprise and mortification when late in July (1758) he received a letter from Colonel Bouquet asking an interview with him in order to consult on opening a new road from Raystown, and requesting his opinion on that route.

"I shall," says he, in answer to this letter, "most cheerfully work on any road, pursue any route, or enter upon any service, that the general or yourself may think me usefully employed in, or qualified for, and shall never have a will of my own when a duty is required of me. But since you desire me to speak my sentiments freely, permit me to observe that after having conversed with all the guides, and having been informed by others acquainted with the country, I am convinced that a road, to be compared with General Braddock's, or indeed that will be fit for transportation even by pack-horses, cannot be made. I own I have no predilection for the route you have in contemplation for me."

In the interview with Colonel Bouquet, which took place a few days after his writing this letter, Colonel Washington found that officer strongly in favor of opening the new route. After their separation he, with the permission of Colonel Bouquet, addressed to him a letter which was to be laid before General Forbes, setting forth his reasons against making a new road. He was apprehensive that the loss of time occasioned by attempting it would be so great that they would be able to do nothing more than fortify some post on the other side of the Alleghany and prepare for another campaign. He was equally opposed to another scheme which had been proposed of dividing the army and marching by two different routes.

In the following letter to Colonel Bouquet, Colonel

Washington produces unanswerable arguments in support of his own views on both these questions:

"CAMP AT FORT CUMBERLAND,
"*August* 2, 1758.

"SIR.— The matters of which we spoke relative to the roads, have, since our parting, been the subject of my closest reflection, and so far am I from altering my opinion that the more time and attention I bestow the more I am confirmed in it, and the reasons for taking Braddock's road appear in a stronger point of view. To enumerate the whole of these reasons would be tedious, and to you, who are so much master of the subject, unnecessary. I shall therefore briefly mention a few only, which I think so obvious in themselves, that they must effectually remove objections.

"Several years ago the Virginians and Pennsylvanians commenced a trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and to obviate the many inconveniences of a bad road they, after reiterated and ineffectual efforts to discover where a good one might be made, employed for the purpose several of the most intelligent Indians who, in the course of many years hunting, had acquired a perfect knowledge of these mountains. The Indians having taken the greatest pains to gain the rewards offered for this discovery declared that the path leading from Wills Creek was infinitely preferable to any that could be made at any other place. Time and experience so clearly demonstrated this truth that the Pennsylvania traders commonly carried out their goods by Wills Creek. Therefore the Ohio Company, in 1753, at a considerable expense, opened the road. In 1754 the troops whom I had the honor to command greatly repaired it as far as Gist's plantation; and in 1755 it was widened and completed by General Braddock to within six miles

of Fort Duquesne. A road that has so long been opened, and so well and so often repaired, must be firmer and better than a new one, allowing the ground to be equally good.

" But supposing it were practicable to make a road from Raystown quite as good as General Braddock's, I ask have we time to do it? Certainly not. To surmount the difficulties to be encountered in making it over such mountains, covered with woods and rocks, would require so much time as to blast our otherwise well-grounded hopes of striking the important stroke this season.

" The favorable accounts that some give of the forage on the Raystown road, as being so much better than that on the other, are certainly exaggerated. It is well known that on both routes the rich valleys between the mountains abound with good forage, and that those which are stony and bushy are destitute of it. Colonel Byrd and the engineer who accompanied him confirm this fact. Surely the meadows on Braddock's road would greatly overbalance the advantage of having grass to the foot of the ridge on the Raystown road, and all agree that a more barren road is nowhere to be found than that from Raystown to the inhabitants, which is likewise to be considered.

"Another principal objection made to General Braddock's road is in regard to the waters. But these seldom swell so much as to obstruct the passage. The Youghiogheny river, which is the most rapid and soonest filled, I have crossed with a body of troops after more than thirty days' almost continual rain. In fine, any difficulties on this score are so trivial that they really are not worth mentioning. The Monongahela, the largest of all these rivers, may, if necessary, easily be avoided, as Mr. Frazer, the principal guide, informs me, by passing a defile; and even that, he says, may be shunned.

"Again, it is said, there are many defiles on this road. I

grant that there are some, but I know of none that may not be traversed, and I should be glad to be informed where a road can be had over these mountains not subject to the same inconvenience. The shortness of the distance between Raystown and Loyal Hanna is used as an argument against this road, which bears in it something unaccountable to me; for I must beg leave to ask whether it requires more time or is more difficult and expensive to go 145 miles in a good road already made to our hands than to cut 100 miles anew, and a great part of the way over impassable mountains.

"That the old road is many miles nearer Winchester, in Virginia, and Fort Frederick, in Maryland, than the contemplated one, is incontestable; and I will here show the distances from Carlisle by the two routes, fixing the different stages, some of which I have from information only, but others I believe to be exact.* From this computation there appears to be a difference of nineteen miles only. Were all the supplies necessarily to come from Carlisle, it is well known that the goodness of the old road is a sufficient compensation for the shortness of the other, as the wrecked and broken wagons there clearly demonstrate.

"I shall next give you my reasons against dividing the army in the manner you propose.

*From Carlisle to Fort Duquesne, by way of Raystown:

	Miles.
From Carlisle to Shippensburg	21
From Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun	24
From Fort Loudoun to Fort Littleton	20
From Fort Littleton to Juniata Crossing	14
From Juniata Crossing to Raystown	14
	93
From Raystown to Fort Duquesne	100
	193

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

"First, then, by dividing our army we shall divide our strength, and by pursuing quite distinct routes put it entirely out of the power of each division to succor the other, as the proposed new road has no communication with the old one.

"Secondly, to march in this manner will be attended with many inconveniences. If we depart from our advanced posts at the same time, and make no deposits by the way, those troops that go from Raystown, as they will be light, with carrying-horses only, will arrive at Fort Duquesne long before the others and must, if the enemy are strong there, be exposed to many insults in their advance and in their intrenchments from the cannon of the enemy, which they may draw out upon them at pleasure. If they are not strong enough to do this, we have but little to apprehend from them in whatever way we may go.

"Thirdly, if that division which escorts the convoy is permitted to march first we risk our all in a manner, and shall be ruined if any accident happens to the artillery and the stores.

"Lastly, if we advance on both roads by deposits, we must double our number of troops over the mountains and distress ourselves by victualing them at these deposits, be-

From Carlisle to Fort Duquesne, by way of Forts Frederick and Cumberland:

	Miles.
From Carlisle to Shippensburg	21
From Shippensburg to Chambers's	12
From Chambers's to Pacelin's	12
From Pacelin's to Fort Frederick	12
From Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland	40
	97
From Fort Cumberland to Fort Duquesne	115
	212

sides losing the proposed advantage, that of stealing a march. For we cannot suppose that the French, who have their scouts constantly out, can be so deficient in point of intelligence as to be unacquainted with our motions while we are advancing by slow degrees toward them.

"From what has been said relative to the two roads, it appears to me very clear that the old one is infinitely better than the other can be made, and that there is no room to hesitate in deciding which to take, when we consider the advanced season and the little time left to execute our plan.

"I shall therefore in the last place offer, as desired, my sentiments on advancing by deposits. The first deposit I should have proposed to be at the Little Meadows had time permitted; but as the case now stands I think it should be at the Great Crossing or the Great Meadows. The Great Crossing I esteem the most advantageous post on several accounts, especially on those of water and security of passage; but then it does not abound with forage, as the Meadows do, nor with so much level land fit for culture. To this latter place a body of 1500 men may march with 300 wagons (or with carrying-horses, which would be much better), allowing each wagon to carry eight hundred weight of flour and four hundred of salt meat.

"Our next deposit will probably be at Salt Lick, about thirty-five miles from the Meadows. To this place I think it necessary to send 2,500 men to construct some post, taking six days' provisions only, which is sufficient to serve them till the convoy comes up, by which time an intrenched camp, or some other defensive work may be effected. From hence I conceive it highly expedient to detach three or four thousand of the best troops to invest the fort, and to prevent, if possible, an engagement in the woods, which of all things ought to be avoided. The artillery and stores may be brought up in four days from Salt Lick. From that time

I will allow eighteen days more, for the carrying-horses to make a trip to Raystown for provisions, passing along the old path by Loyal Hanna. They may do it in this time, as the horses will go down light.

"From this statement and by my calculations, in which large allowance is made for the quantity of provisions, as well as for the time of transporting them, it appears that from the day on which the front division begins its march till the whole army arrives before Fort Duquesne will be thirty-four days. There will be also eighty-seven days' provision on hand, allowing for the consumption on the march. Eighteen days added to the above will make fifty-two in all, the number required for our operations. These ought to be finished, if possible, by the middle of October (1758)."*

In a letter addressed to Major Halket, aide of General Forbes, Colonel Washington expressed himself as follows in relation to the new route:

"I am just returned from a conference held with Colonel Bouquet. I find him fixed — I think I may say unalterably fixed — to lead you a new way to the Ohio through a road every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarcely time left to tread the beaten track universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains.

"If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the general all is lost! all is lost, indeed! our enterprise is ruined! and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather laurels, except of the kind which cover the mountains. The southern Indians will turn against us and these Colonies will be desolated by such an accession to the enemy's strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage, and a miscarriage the almost necessary consequence of an attempt to march the army by

* Sparks's "Writings of Washington," vol. II, p. 392.

this new route. I have given my reasons at large to Colonel Bouquet. He desired that I should do so, that he might forward them to the General. Should this happen you will be able to judge of their weight. I am uninfluenced by prejudice, having no hopes or fears but for the general good."

Colonel Washington's arguments and remonstrances on the subject of dividing the army and advancing on two different routes had their due weight and that scheme was abandoned. But on the question regarding the new route, his powerful influence was unavailing. The Pennsylvanians* wanted a new road to the western country made

* How this selfish conduct of the Pennsylvanians was regarded by the Virginians under Washington's command is illustrated by the following extract from a letter of Robert Munford to Colonel Bland, dated camp near Fort Cumberland, May 4, 1758:

"If 'tis honorable to be in the service of one's country, 'tis a reputation gained by the most cruel hardships you can imagine, occasioned more by a real anxiety for its welfare than by what the poor carcass suffers. Every officer seems discontented in camp, happy on command, so deep is the interest of our country implanted in the minds of all. Sometimes the army wears a gloomy, then a joyous aspect, just as the news either confirms our stay here, or immediate departure. The general (Forbes), with the smallpox in one, the flux in the other division of our forces, and no provisions ready, are indeed excuses for our being here at present; yet all might have been prevented. A few hearty prayers are every moment offered up for those self-interested Pennsylvanians, who endeavor to prevail on our general to cut a road for their convenience from Raystown to Fort Duquesne. That a trifling good to particulars should retard what would conduce to the general welfare! 'Tis a set of dirty Dutchmen, they say, that keep us here! It would be impertinent to condemn, yet I must think our leaders too deliberate at this important juncture, when all are warm for action, all breathing revenge against an enemy that has even dared to scalp our men before our eyes. The amusement we have in the mean time is only following the brave dogs over the mountains for some miles, and our sole satisfaction sufficient fatigue to make us sleep sound."— Bland Papers, p. 13.

at the expense of the Crown, and at the risk of defeating the object of the campaign, they carried their point with General Forbes, who, as commander-in-chief had full power to decide the question. How this decision affected Washington may be seen by the following letters:

[August 5th Washington wrote to Governor Fauquier from the Fort Cumberland camp:

"I am sorry to inform you that we are still encamped here, and have little prospect of de-camping, unless a fatal resolution takes place, of opening a new road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne. In this event, I have no doubt that the Virginia troops will be honored with a full share of the labor, as they have already been in opening a communication from hence to Rays Town, and doing the principal part of the work at that place.

"I am just returned from a conference held with Col. Bouquet. In this conference I urged, in the most forcible terms I was master of, the advanced season as an argument against new discoveries. I pressed also the difficulties attending the cutting a road over these mountains, — known to me from experience; the length of time it must require to do it; the little time left for that service; the moral certainty of its obstructing our march, beyond what the advanced season will admit — and the probable miscarriage of the expedition from that cause; and lastly I endeavored to represent the distressed condition the colonies would be reduced to consequent thereon. In fine, I said everything which the importance of the subject suggested to me, to avert a measure that seemed to forebode the manifest ruin of the expedition.

"This is the light in which it presents itself to my mind. I pray Heaven my fears may not be realized! But the thoughts of opening a road 100 miles, over mountains almost inaccessible, at this advanced season, when there

is already a good road made,— a road universally confessed to be the best that either is or can be found anywhere through these mountains, prognosticates something not quite favorable.

"I have now drawn up a representation of real facts to be presented to the General; in which I think the advantages of going the old road, and moral certainty of failing in the new are so clearly demonstrated that they must strike every unbiassed mind.

"The small-pox getting among the troops is another unpromising circumstance. An officer and two men of my regiment are now confined with it at Rays Town.

"From this narrative of our affairs your Honor may draw conclusions. You may depend the statement is true; free from exaggerations and flowing from a mind deeply affected at the prospect before us. I hope, as I once said before, that I see matters in too strong a point of view and that my apprehensions for the consequences of opening a new road are groundless."

"P. S. I was this moment presented with a letter from Col. Bouquet telling me, that the General had directed the other road to be opened. I expect, therefore, to be ordered that way immediately."

The next day Washington again wrote to Colonel Bouquet, his immediate commanding officer:

"The General's orders,— or the order of any superior officer, will, when once given, be a law to me. I shall never hesitate in obeying them; but, till this order came out [from General Forbes, 'lying indisposed at Carlyle'], I thought it incumbent on me to say what I could to divert you (the Commanding Officer present) from a resolution of opening a new road, of which I had the most unfavorable reports, and believe from the height of the hills,— the steepness of them, the unevenness of the ground

in general,— and, what above all principally weighed with me, the shortness of the season, that it was impossible to open a road in time to answer our purpose. I am still in this opinion, partly from my own observations of the country, and partly from the information of as good judges as any that will be employed. My duty therefore obliged me to declare my sentiments upon the occasion with that candor and freedom of which you are witness. If I am deceived in my opinion, I shall acknowledge my error as becomes a gentleman led astray from judgment, and not by prejudice, in opposing a measure so conducive to the public weal as you seem to have conceived this to be. If I, unfortunately, am right, my conduct will acquit me of having discharged my duty on this important occasion; on the good success of which our all, in a manner, depends."

August 18, 1758, in view of a possible order "to proceed with a body of troops on General Braddock's road," Washington remarked in a letter to Bouquet on what this would require, and further said:

"The greatest part of my regiment is on the other road; so that I have but few remaining with me of the First regiment, and 8 companies of the Second only, whose officers and men can be supposed to know little of the service, and less of the country; and near, or I believe, quite a fifth of them sick.

"With regard to keeping out a succession of strong parties on this road from our troops here, I must beg leave to observe, that we have not so much as one carrying horse to take provisions out upon, being under a necessity t'other day of pressing five horses from some countrymen (that came to camp on business) before I could equip Capt. McKenzie's party [four officers and 75 rank and file] for a 14 days march. That we have

not an ounce of salt provisions of any kind here, and that it is impossible to preserve the fresh, (especially as we have no salt) by any other means than barbacuring it in the Indian manner.

"A great many of Col. Byrd's men [the Second regiment] are, as I before remarked, very sickly; the rest became low spirited and dejected. Of course the greatest share of the service must fall upon the four companies of the First Regiment. This sickness and depression of spirits cannot arise, I conceive, from the situation of our camp, which is undoubtedly the most healthy and best aired in this vicinity, but is caused, I apprehend, by the change in their way of living, (most of them till now having lived in ease and affluence), and by the limestone water. The soldiers of the 1st regiment would be sickly, like those of the 2nd, was it not owing to some such causes as these."

To Colonel Bouquet Washington wrote, August 28, 1758:

"Your favor by Mr. Hoops has in some measure revived a hope that was almost extinguished, of doing something this campaign. We must doubtless expect to encounter many difficulties in opening a new road through bad grounds in a woody country of which the enemy are possesst, but since you hope our point may be carried I would feign expect the surmounting these obstacles.

"'Tis a melancholy reflection, though, to find there is even a doubt of success, when so much is depending, and when, in all human probability, we might have been in full possession of the Ohio by now, if, rather than running ourselves into difficulties and expense of cutting an entire new road the distance we have, first and last Braddock's had been adopted.

"I could wish most sincerely that our route was fixed

that we might be in motion; for we are all of us most heartily tired and sick of inactivity."

"We are still encamped here, very sickly and dispirited at the prospect before us. The appearance of glory which we once had in view — that hope — that laudable ambition of serving our country and meriting its applause are now no more, all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power like certain ways of Providence are not inscrutable. But we who view the actions of great men at a distance can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception, and being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation might mistake egregiously in judging from appearances, or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions — will prattle and talk away, and why may not I? We seem then in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something — I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue.

"In my last I told you that I had employed my small abilities in opposing the measures then concerting. To do this, I not only represented the advanced season, the difficulty of cutting a new road over these mountains, the little time left for that service, the moral certainty of its obstructing our march, and the miscarriage of the expedition consequent thereupon. But I endeavored to represent, also, the great struggle Virginia had made this year in raising a second regiment upon so short a notice, and the great expense of doing it, and her inability for a future exertion in case of need. I spoke my fears concerning the southern Indians, in the event of a miscarriage; and in fine I spoke all *un*availingly, for the road was immediately begun, and since then from one to two

thousand men have constantly wrought upon it. By the last accounts I have received, they had cut it to the foot of the Laurel Hill, about thirty-five miles, and I suppose by this time 1,500 men have taken post about ten miles farther at a place called Loyal Hanna, where our new fort is to be constructed.

"We have certain intelligence that the French strength at Fort Duquesne did not exceed 800 men the thirteenth ultimo, including about three or four hundred Indians. See how our time has been misspent, behold how the golden opportunity is lost, perhaps never to be regained! How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible! Will then our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter go to His Majesty, let him know how grossly his interests and the public money have been prostituted. I wish I were sent immediately home, as an aid to some other on this errand. I think, without vanity, I could set the conduct of this expedition in its true colors, having taken some pains, perhaps more than any other man, to dive to the bottom of it.

"It hath long been the luckless fate of Virginia to fall a victim to the views of her crafty neighbors, and yield her honest efforts to promote their common interests, at the expense of much blood and treasure! whilst openness and sincerity have governed her measures. We *now* can only bewail our prospects, and wish for happier times, but these seem at so remote a distance that they are indeed rather to be wished than expected."]

Well might Washington complain. When this letter was written, parties had been sent forward by Colonel Bouquet to work upon the new road, and six weeks had already been wasted in this fruitless labor, forty-five miles only being gained in that time.

[September 2, 1758, two months after his arrival there, Washington wrote from the Fort Cumberland camp, to Governor Fauquier:

"If you are surprised to find us still encamped at this place, I shall only remark that your surprise cannot well exceed my own.

"In my last I informed your Honor that a resolution was taken to open a new road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne. It was instantly begun, and since that time from one to two thousand men have wrought on it continually [from August 5]. They had, by the last accounts I received, cut it to the foot of Laurel Hill, about 35 miles, and I suppose by this time have taken posts at Loyal Hanna, 10 miles farther, where I understand another fort is to be built.

"What time it will require to build a fort at Loyal Hanna, and, after that is accomplished, what further time is necessary to cut the road through very rugged grounds to Fort Duquesne, I must leave to time to reveal.

"The first division of the Artillery has passed the Alleghany hill, and I suppose may by now be got up with the advanced working party. The second division I believe may have marched by this; and they talk of putting all the troops in motion immediately. We have not in our stores at Rays Town two months' provisions for the army; and if the best judges are to be credited, the nipping frosts will soon destroy the herbage on the mountains; and then, although the communication be not quite stopped, the subsistence for horses is rendered very difficult, till snows and frosts prevent all intercourse with the Ohio,— and these set in early in November. The road from Rays Town to Carlyle, whence the provisions and stores chiefly come, is perhaps worse than any other on the continent, infinitely worse than any part of the road

from hence to Fort Duquesne, along General Braddock's road, and hath already worn out the greatest part of the horses that have been employed in transporting the provisions.

"I can give your Honor no satisfactory account of the General. He lay ill at Carlyle a long time; from thence (gathering a little strength) he moved to Shippensburgh, where his disorder returned, and where I am told he now is. By a letter received from him he hopes soon to be at Rays Town, where he desires to see Col. Byrd and myself. But alas, the Expedition must either stand or fall by the present plan.

"In the conference which I had with Colonel Bouquet, I did, among other things, to avert the resolve of opening a new road, represent the great expense the colony of Virginia had been at to support the war; the charge of raising a second regiment at so short notice; the time limited for its service; and therefore the cruelty of risking the success of an expedition upon such precarious measures, when so much depends on it, and our inability to do more.

"But I urged in vain. The Pennsylvanians, whose present as well as future interest it was to conduct the expedition through their Government, and along that way, because it secures their frontiers at present and the trade hereafter — a chain of forts being erected — had prejudiced the General absolutely against this road; made him believe we were the partial people; and determined him at all events to pursue that route. So that their sentiments are already known on this matter and to them, as instigators, may be attributed the great misfortune of this miscarriage.

"The contractor has orders to lay in, at Loyal Hanna, for 4000 men the winter. Whence it is imagined that

our expedition for this campaign will end there. Should we serve to make up the troops which garrison that place, our frontiers will thereby not only be exposed, but the soldiers, for want of clothing and proper conveniences must absolutely perish, few of them having a whole coat to their backs, and many none at all.

"I have thus given your Honor a full and impartial account of the present posture of affairs here; of which any use may be made you shall think proper. I may possibly be blamed for expressing my sentiments so freely,—but never can be ashamed of urging the truth; and none but obvious facts are stated here. The General, I dare say from his good character, can account fully, and no doubt satisfactorily, for these delays that surprise all who judge from appearances; but I really cannot."

In a private letter of September 12, 1758, a thought, in close line with one of the most striking of Shakespeare's utterances, appears in Washington's avowal of "an opinion, which I have long entertained, that there is a Destiny which has the control of our actions, not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of Human Nature." The letter is most plainly to one who had been so completely the object of Washington's earlier affection that no other person could so deeply command his devotion and create his happiness. It is said that Mrs. Custis, when Washington met her, strikingly resembled the person who might have been Mrs. Washington if she had not already provided herself with a husband in Colonel William Fairfax's son, George William Fairfax, who was eight years older than Washington. If Mrs. George William Fairfax was the person upon whom Washington's earliest sense of perfect womanly charm had rested, there seems no reason to doubt that it was when hardly more than upon the threshold of manhood, with his home about as much at Belvoir,

the mansion of the Fairfaxes, as at his brother Lawrence's Mount Vernon mansion, that the interchange of interest in each other began, with the amplest security for conventional and actual propriety on both sides, with the occasions of kindness to, and regard for, a young friend appealing most naturally to her, and with the very exceptional rise of feeling in him natural to maturity beyond his years, and to the rarest genius for deep, pure, and powerful emotion; until both the one and the other found interest in each other awakened, far beyond what could be carried into effect, or could be expressed from one to the other, save as correspondence might venture a little way. The letter was as follows:

"Yesterday I was honored with your short but very agreeable favor of the first inst. How joyfully I catch at the happy occasion of renewing a correspondence which I feared was disrelished on your part, I leave to time, that never failing expositor of all things, and to a monitor equally faithful in my own breast, to testify. In silence I now express my joy; silence, which, in some cases, I wish the present, speaks more intelligently than the sweetest eloquence.

"If you allow that any honor can be derived from my opposition to our present system of management [in the expedition matters], you destroy the merit of it entirely in me by attributing my anxiety [for the better conduct and earlier success of the campaign] to the animating prospect of possessing Mrs. Custis, when — I need not tell you, guess yourself [meaning apparently, to say, yet not say, "when, to return to the happiness of Belvoir, of your society, would not less have been an animating prospect."] Should not my own honor and country's welfare be the excitement? 'Tis true, I profess myself a votary of Love. I acknowledge that a lady is in the case, and

further I confess that this lady is known to you. Yes, Madame, as well as she is to one who is too sensible of her charms to deny the power whose influence he feels and must ever submit to. I feel the force of her amiable beauties in the recollection of a thousand tender passages that I could wish to obliterate, till I am bid to revive them. But experience, alas! sadly reminds me how impossible this is, and evinces an opinion which I have long entertained, that there is a Destiny which has the control of our actions, not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of Human Nature.

"You have drawn me, Dear Madame, or rather I have drawn myself, into an honest confession of a simple fact. Misconstrue not my meaning; doubt it not, nor expose it. The world has no business to know the object of my Love, declared in this manner to you, when I want to conceal it. One thing above all things in this world I wish to know, and only one person of your acquaintance can solve me that, or guess my meaning. But adieu to this till happier times, if I ever shall see them. The hours at present are melancholy dull. I dare believe you are as happy as you say. I wish I was happy also. Mirth, good humor, ease of mind, and — what else? — cannot fail to render you so.

"I cannot easily forgive the unseasonable haste of my last express [messenger], if he deprived me thereby of a single word you intended to add. The time of the present messenger is, as the last might have been, entirely at your disposal. I can't expect to hear from my friends more than this once [*i. e.* by the return of his messenger] before the fate of this expedition will some how or other be determined. I therefore beg to know when you set out for Hampton, and when you expect to return to Belvoir again. And I should be glad also to hear of your speedy departure, as I shall thereby hope for your return

before I get down. The disappointment of seeing your family [*i. e.* to be disappointed of seeing], would give me much concern. From anything I can yet see 'tis hardly possible to say when we shall finish. I don't think there is a possibility of it till the middle of November. Your letter to Captain Gist I forwarded by a safe hand the moment it came to me. His answer shall be carefully transmitted.

"Col. Mercer, to whom I delivered your message and compliments, joins me very heartily in wishing you and the Ladies of Belvoir the perfect enjoyment of every happiness the world affords. Be assured that I am, Dear Madame, with the most unfeigned regard, your most obedient and most obliged humble servant."

If, as seems undeniable, there is in the expressions used in this letter a bold, yet veiled avowal that the person addressed had engaged his feelings to the utmost possible, it seems no less certain that the expressions used imply that there had never been any understanding between the two, through which he could have been sure what her feelings were, and that he wished, "above all things in this world," to be allowed to know it if the interest which he felt was similarly felt by her. It seems impossible not to assume that she had not found an ideal satisfaction in her marriage, yet maintained her position in it all the same, while yet finding in her husband's younger comrade the grounds of such satisfaction, and not wholly concealing it from the object of her interest. And strongly as Washington expressed his "wish to know" the one thing of greatest interest to his feelings, as he turned back to his Belvoir experiences, there seems not the slightest reason to suppose that it could have meant to him anything more than a mental satisfaction, or could have given him even a thought of pause in the matter of his engage-

ment to Mrs. Custis. That Washington was not a little in the dark as to what might be true of the feelings of Mrs. Fairfax, from the avoidance on her part of giving him any indication adequate to satisfy his "wish to know," appears very plainly from his recurring to the matter in a second letter, September 25, but only to the extent of these few words:

"Do we still misunderstand the meaning of each other's letters? I think it must appear so, though I would feign hope the contrary, as I cannot speak plainer without. But I'll say no more, and leave you to guess the rest."

In this letter Washington says: "I am extremely glad to find that Mr. Fairfax has escaped the dangers of the siege at Louisberg." The younger brother of George William Fairfax was in the army with Wolfe, and was killed at the siege of Quebec. If George William Fairfax had fallen at Louisberg, the personal story of Washington might have been different but for the fact that the engagement already made was as binding to his honor, and as satisfactory to judgment and feeling, as the earlier interest was in some degree deeper — after the manner of such first exceptionally deep interest.

If we recur to the interest of the mere youth in "Miss Betsy," an account of which is given at page 48, it will be seen that the youth of twenty showed very deep feeling under the impression made upon him by Miss Betsy Fauntleroy; that while this feeling was strongest his "place of residence" was with the Fairfaxes, where the family included Mrs. George William Fairfax and her sister, "a very agreeable young lady;" and that he avoided becoming interested in the young lady, partly because of the strength of his feeling for Miss Betsy, and partly because he felt convinced that he would "only get a denial," if he ventured anything. In this situation Mrs. Fairfax and her

husband's comrade could hardly fail to unconsciously come into a relation of perhaps unguarded interest on her part, and of unguarded self-disclosure on his part, the almost inevitable result of which, to her, would be to know, as no one else could, the depth, purity, charm, and strength of his nature, not yet revealed to common observation; while to him would come the consciousness of attraction and satisfaction, in a singularly sympathetic and beautiful woman, very much beyond anything through which any "young lady" could appeal to him. Mrs. Fairfax was but two years his senior; she had been married four years in 1752; and with no more than commonplace gifts and excellence in Mr. Fairfax, a deeply sympathetic knowledge of Washington, in the rarest promise of his genius and character, may well have made an impression as profound, beyond every other known to her experience, as it was necessarily pathetic. There is no evidence that to either the whole experience was more than a transaction of silence or of dumb distance signals, with no effect whatever upon the actual life of either. It should be plain, however, that there were three stages in the emotional experience of Washington, in relation with three persons, Betsy Fauntleroy, Mrs. Fairfax, and Mrs. Custis, and that upon the latter fell all the conscience, honor, and fidelity of the mature man.]

General Forbes had at length arrived at his headquarters at Raystown (September 15, 1758). The advanced party were constructing a fort at Loyal Hanna, most of the Virginia troops were still at Fort Cumberland, whereas, if the old route by Braddock's road had been adopted, General Forbes with his army of 6,000 men might already have reached Fort Duquesne, at that time garrisoned by only 800 men.

So much dissatisfied were the Virginia House of Bur-

gesses with this state of affairs, that they were on the point of recalling the forces of that Colony and placing them on their own frontier, but the apprehension that the failure of the expedition might be ascribed to this proceeding induced them to extend the period of service for their troops to the end of the year.

We have already seen that Washington disapproved of the scheme of sending forward detachments of any considerable force in advance of the main body of the army. His excellent judgment on this head was fully evinced by the disastrous fate of Major Grant's detachment. This officer was detailed from the advanced post at Loyal Hanna on the 21st of September (1758), with 800 men, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's position at Fort Duquesne. His proceedings were singularly imprudent. Having arrived, without molestation, at a hill near the fort, in the night, he sent forward a small party to make observations, who burnt a log cabin and returned.

Next morning Major Grant having ordered Major Lewis, of Washington's Virginia regiment, with a baggage-guard to a point two miles in his rear, sent forward an engineer with a covering party within full view of the garrison to take a plan of the works. As if all these proceedings were not sufficient to give the enemy notice of his presence, he ordered the reveillé to be beaten in several places.

The intelligent French commander of Fort Duquesne observed and duly appreciated this silly and impudent bravado and took speedy measures to punish it. Having posted Indians in ambuscade on his enemy's flanks he made a sudden sally from the fort, and soon spread dismay and confusion among the ranks of the British soldiers. The Highlanders, who composed a part of the detachment, stood their ground well for some time before they broke and fled. The Virginians from Washington's regiment gave

evidence of the thorough manner in which they had been trained for border warfare. They bore the brunt of the battle, losing out of eight officers, five killed, one wounded, and one taken prisoner, while of the rank and file, out of 162, sixty-two were killed and two wounded.

On hearing the firing, Major Lewis left Captain Bullitt with fifty Virginians to guard the baggage, and hastened to join in the fight. He was speedily engaged with the Indians who had emerged from their ambuscade in the woods. Surrounded and nearly overpowered, he surrendered to a French officer. Major Grant was also taken prisoner. The main body of the detachment was routed, and sought safety in the neighboring forest.

Captain Bullitt after sending off a portion of the baggage-wagons made a stand behind a breastwork formed of the remaining ones and drove back the Indians who were rushing forward to secure the plunder. He then effected a rapid retreat with the remnant of the detachment. Scattered fugitives from the main body who had been dispersed slowly found their way through the woods to Loyal Hanna. The total loss was 270 killed and 42 wounded.

Washington received, in the compliments of the general, a satisfactory intimation that the conduct of the portion of his regiment engaged in this action was duly appreciated at headquarters, and Captain Bullitt's promotion to the rank of major was a further testimony to the courage and good behavior of the Virginians.

[Washington wrote September 25, 1758, to Governor Fauquier, of this affair:

"The 12th instant Major Grant, of the Highland battalion, with a chosen detachment of 800 men marched from our advanced post, at Loyal Hannan, for Fort Duquesne;— what to do there (unless to meet the fate he did)

I cannot certainly inform you. However, to get intelligence and annoy the Enemy, was the ostensible plan.

"On the 13th, in the night, they arrived near that place; formed upon the hill in two columns; and sent a party to the fort to make discoveries, which they accomplished accordingly — and burned a log-house not far from the walls without interruption. Stimulated by this success the major kept his post and disposition until day; then detached Major Lewis and part of his command two miles back to their baggage guard and sent an engineer with a covering party in full view of the fort, to take a plan of the works — at the same time causing the reveillé to beat in several different places.

"The Enemy hereupon sallied out, and an obstinate Engagement began, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer your Honor to the enclosed letters and return of the regiment. Major Lewis, it is said, met his fate in bravely advancing to sustain Major Grant. Our officers and men have acquired very great applause for their gallant behavior during the action. I had the honor to be publicly complimented yesterday by the General on the occasion. The havock that was made of them is a demonstrable proof of their obstinate defence, having six officers killed, and a seventh wounded, out of eight. Major Lewis who cheerfully went upon this enterprise (when he found there was no dissuading Colonel Bouquet from the attempt, desired his friends to remember that he had opposed the undertaking to the utmost.

"What may be the consequence of this affair, I will not take upon me to decide, but this I may venture to declare, that our affairs in general appear with a greater gloom than ever; and I see no probability of opening the road this campaign. How then can we expect a favorable issue to the expedition. I have used my best endeavors to sup-

ply my men with the necessaries they want. Seventy blankets I got from the General upon a promise to return them again."

In the letter to Mrs. Fairfax of the same date, the few personal words of which have been quoted above, Washington said, of Major Grant's further proceedings making observations, etc.:

"Egg'd on rather than satisfied by this success, Major Grant must needs insult the Enemy next morning by beating the reveille in different places in view. This caused a great body of men to sally from the Fort, and an obstinate engagement to ensue, which was maintained on our side with the utmost efforts that bravery could yield, till, being overpowered and quite surrounded, they were obliged to retreat with the loss of 22 officers killed and 278 men, besides wounded.

"This is a heavy blow to our affairs here, and a sad stroke upon my regiment, that has lost out of 8 officers, and 168 that were in the action, 6 of the former killed and a 7th wounded. Among the slain was our dear Major Lewis.

"Thus it is the lives of the brave are often disposed of. But who is there that does not rather envy than regret a death that gives birth to honor and glorious memory?

"I am extremely glad to find that Mr. Fairfax has escaped the dangers of the siege of Louisberg. Already have we experienced greater losses than our army sustained at that place, and have gained not one obvious advantage. So miserably has this expedition been managed that I expect after a month's further trial, and the loss of many more men by the sword, cold, and famine, we shall give the expedition over as impracticable this season, and retire to the inhabitants [*i. e.* the settlements

on the frontier from which they had marched], condemned by the world and derided by our friends."

September 28th Washington further wrote that by a flag of truce sent to Fort Duquesne it had been "learned with certainty that Major Grant with two other Highland officers, and Major Lewis," with some other officers and thirty privates, "were made prisoners in the late action, and sent immediately to Montreal." The letter also said: "We find that the frosts have already changed the face of nature among these mountains. We know there is not more than a month left for enterprise; we know also that a number of horses cannot subsist after that time on a road stripped of its herbage — and very few there are who apprehend that our affairs can be brought to favorable issue by that period, nor do I see how it is possible, if everything else answered, that men half naked can live in tents much longer."]

At length the main body of the army received orders to advance from Raystown. The general called on the colonels of regiments to submit severally, for his consideration, a plan for his march. The plan submitted by Washington is given by Mr. Sparks,* and evinces sound judgment and practical acquaintance with frontier warfare.

[From camp at Rays Town, October 8, 1758, Washington sent to General Forbes plans for a line of march, of which he said:

"They express my thoughts on a line of march through a country covered with woods, and how that line of march may be formed in an instant into an order of battle. The plan is calculated for a forced march with field-pieces only, unincumbered with wagons. It represents, first, a line of march; and, secondly, how that line of march may in an instant be thrown into an order of battle in the

* Washington's "Writings," vol. II, p. 313.

woods. This plan supposes 4,000 privates, 1,000 of whom, (picked men), are to march in the front in three divisions, each division having a field-officer to command it, besides the commander of the whole; and is always to be in readiness to oppose the enemy, whose attack, if the necessary precautions are observed, must always be in front."

The statement of particulars of the operation of the plan gives clear proof of thorough knowledge of the style of warfare required in service such as that of the expedition in hand.]

Washington at his own request was put in the advance. He was placed at the head of a division numbering 1,000 men, with the temporary rank of brigadier-general, and ordered to move in front of the main army, clear the road, and take precautions against a surprise by the enemy. The main body did not reach Loyal Hanna till the 5th of November (1758). The road was indescribably bad, and frost and snow were already announcing the near approach of winter. The soldiers were dispirited, as well they might be, for they were ill-clad for the season, surrounded by a wilderness of forests, and still at the distance of fifty miles from Fort Duquesne.

A council of war was now held in which, as Washington had foreseen and predicted, it was decided that it was inexpedient to proceed further in the campaign. To winter on the ground was nearly impossible. The alternative was to retreat or suffer hardships similar to those which the army under Washington's command subsequently suffered at Valley Forge.

Fortunately, we should rather say, providentially, three prisoners were taken from whom information was obtained of the actual condition of Fort Duquesne. The garrison was greatly reduced. The Indians had all deserted them. The usual supplies of provisions and the expected reinforce-

ments from Canada had failed. A single well-directed blow would accomplish the object of the campaign.

This report determined General Forbes to prosecute the expedition. Washington was advanced in front as before, to open a road for the main body of the army and establish deposits. The tents and heavy baggage were left at Loyal Hanna and only a light train of artillery was taken forward with the army. Inspirited with the prospect of final success both officers and men now performed their duty with alacrity.

The road however was long and difficult, and it was not till the 25th of November that the army arrived at Fort Duquesne. Instead of having to prosecute a siege and assault, General Forbes took quiet possession of the fort, which was already abandoned by the enemy.

Colonel Bradstreet's capture of Fort Frontenac had cut off the usual supplies and reinforcements intended for this post, and the garrison consisting of only 500 men had on the preceding night evacuated the place, after setting it on fire, and proceeded down the Ohio in boats.

[October 30, 1758, Washington wrote to Governor Fauquier from the camp at Loyal Hanna, explaining how he had made a sudden march from Rays Town, and further saying:

"My march to this post gave me an opportunity of forming a judgment of the road, and I can truly say that it is indescribably bad. Had it not been for an accidental discovery of a new passage over the Laurel Hill, the carriages must inevitably have stopped on the other side. This is a fact nobody here takes it upon him to deny. The general, and great part of the troops, etc., being yet behind, and the weather growing very inclement, must, I apprehend, terminate our expedition for this year at this place. But as our affairs are now drawing to a crisis, and

a good or bad conclusion of them will shortly ensue, I choose to suspend my judgment, as well as a further account of the matter, to a future day."

November 5th Washington further wrote to Fauquier:

"The General being arrived, with most of the artillery and troops, we expect to move forward in a very few days, encountering every hardship that an advanced season, want of clothes, and a small stock of provisions will expose us to. But it is no longer a time for pointing out difficulties, and I hope my next will run in a more agreeable strain."

The circumstances under which the forward movement was being made are not mentioned in Washington's letters until that of November 28th, reporting arrival at Fort Duquesne on the 25th, after the French had burned down the fort and gone down the Ohio. In the letter referred to, Washington said:

"The possession of this fort has been a matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes than those of weakness, want of provisions, and desertion of their Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners who providentially fell into our hands at Loyal Hanna, at a time when we despaired of proceeding, and a council of war had determined that it was not advisable to advance further this season; but the information above caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with a light train of artillery only, with which we have happily succeeded."

Of the particulars of this success Washington wrote to General Forbes, November 17, from camp near Bushy Run:

"After the most constant labor from daybreak till night,

we were able to open the road to this place, only about six miles from our last camp.

"I shall struggle hard to be up with Colonel Armstrong tonight, being but two and a half miles from his last camp."

That night he wrote further:

"I have opened the road between seven and eight miles today, and am yet three miles short of Colonel Armstrong, who marched at 8 o'clock."

The next day he wrote from Armstrong's camp that he had arrived there about 11 o'clock, having opened the road before him; that he halted there to slaughter and dress beef for the troops; and that he should go forward with 1,000 men at 3 the next morning. The march thus renewed led directly on to Fort Duquesne, possession of which, or rather of the spot on which it had stood, was had November 25th. In the letter reporting this to Governor Fauquier, Washington said:

"I cannot help premising, in this place, the hardships the troops have undergone, and the naked condition they now are in, in order that you may judge if it is not necessary that they should have some little recess from fatigue, and time to provide themselves with necessaries, for at present they are destitute of every comfort of life. If I do not get your orders to the contrary, I shall march the troops under my command directly to Winchester.

"This fortunate, and indeed unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The Delawares are suing for peace, and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example. A trade, free, open, and upon equitable terms, is what they seem much to stickle for, and I do not know so effectual a way of riveting them to our interest, as sending out goods immediately to this place for that purpose. It will, at the same time, be a means of supplying the garrison with such necessaries

as may be wanted; and I think, those Colonies which are as greatly interested as Virginia is, should neglect no means in their power to establish and support a strong garrison here. Our business, wanting this, will be but half finished; while, on the other hand, we obtain a firm and lasting peace, if this end is once accomplished.

"General Forbes is very assiduous in getting these matters settled upon a solid basis, and has great merit (which I hope will be rewarded) for the happy issue which he has brought our affairs to, infirm and worn down as he is."

The general had followed in the rear of his army in a litter, and a few weeks later he died at Philadelphia.]

After taking possession of the fort General Forbes* caused the works to be repaired and gave it the name of Fort Pitt, in honor of the Prime Minister. The flourishing city of Pittsburg now stands near the ruins of "Old Fort Duquesne."

Two hundred men from Washington's regiment formed the garrison of Fort Pitt. This measure was adopted against his remonstrances, General Forbes declining to leave a detachment from the regular army in consequence of an opinion he had formed that by such a step he would exceed his authority.

Washington marched back with the remainder of his com-

*John Forbes was a native of Petincrief, Fifeshire, Scotland, and was educated as a physician. He abandoned his profession, entered the army, and in 1745 was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He acted as quartermaster-general of the army under the Duke of Cumberland, and in 1757 was appointed brigadier-general, and sent to America. He was successful in the expedition against Fort Duquesne — the works being abandoned on his approach. After having concluded treaties with the Indian tribes on the Ohio, he returned to Philadelphia, and died in that city, March 13, 1759, aged 49.

mand to Winchester. On his way he stopped at Loyal Hanna whence he addressed a circular letter to the frontier inhabitants, requesting them to forward supplies to the Virginians at Fort Pitt, and promising remuneration. Leaving his troops at Winchester, he proceeded to Williamsburg, to take his seat in the Legislature of Virginia, of which he had been elected a member while he was on duty at Fort Cumberland.

[December 2, 1758, Washington wrote from Loyal Hanna that he had made the attempt to proceed to Virginia at once to represent the situation on the Ohio to Governor Fauquier, and had been prevented by want of horses, those which he had being "entirely knocked up." He further said:

"The General has, in his letters, told you what garrison he proposed to leave at Fort Duquesne, but the want of provisions rendered it impossible to leave more than 200 men in all there. These, without great exertions, must, I fear, abandon the place or perish. To prevent, as far as possible, either of these events happening, I have by this conveyance written a circular letter to the back inhabitants of Virginia, setting forth the great advantages of keeping that place; the improbability of doing it without their immediate assistance; that they may travel safely out while we hold that post; and that they will be allowed good prices for such species of provisions as they shall carry.

"Unless the most effectual measures are taken early in the spring to reinforce the garrison at Fort Duquesne, the place will inevitably be lost, and then our frontiers will fall into the same distressed condition that they have been in for some time past. For I can very confidently assert, that we never can secure them properly, if we again lose our footing on the Ohio, as we consequently lose the in-

terest of the Indians. I therefore think that every necessary preparation should be making, not a moment should be lost in taking the most speedy and efficacious steps in securing the infinite advantages which may be derived from our regaining possession of that important country.

"That the preparatory steps should immediately be taken for securing the communication from Virginia, by constructing a post at Redstone Creek, which would greatly facilitate the supplying of our troops on the Ohio, where a formidable garrison should be sent as soon as the season will admit of it.

"That a trade with the Indians should be upon such terms, and transacted by men of such principles, as would at the same time turn out to the reciprocal advantage of the colony and the Indians, and which would effectually remove those bad impressions that the Indians received from the conduct of a set of rascally fellows, divested of all faith and honor; and give us such an early opportunity of establishing an interest with them as would be productive of the most beneficial consequences, on getting a large share of the fur trade, not only of the Ohio Indians, but, in time, of the numerous nations possessing the back country westward of it. And to prevent this advantageous commerce from suffering in its infancy, by the sinister views of designing, selfish men of the different provinces, I humbly conceive it absolutely necessary that commissioners from each of the colonies be appointed to regulate the mode of that trade, and to fix it on such a basis that all the attempts of one colony undermining another, and thereby weakening and diminishing the general system, might be frustrated.

"Although none can entertain a higher sense of the great importance of maintaining a post on the Ohio than myself, yet, under the present circumstances of my regiment, I

would by no means have agreed to leave any part of it there, had not the General given an express order for it. Our men that are left there are in such a miserable situation, having hardly rags to cover their nakedness, that unless provision is made by the country for supplying them immediately they must inevitably perish; and if the First Virginia Regiment is to be kept up any longer, or any services are expected therefrom, they should forthwith be clothed as they are. By their present shameful nakedness, the advanced season, and the inconceivable fatigues of an uncommonly long and laborious campaign, they are rendered totally incapable of any kind of service; and sickness, death, and desertion must, if their wants are not speedily supplied, greatly reduce its numbers. To replace them with equally good men will, perhaps, be found impossible."]

As the frontier of Virginia was now relieved from the incursions of the French and Indians, Washington's patriotic motives for continuing in the military service had ceased to operate. No royal commission such as had been tendered to Sir William Pepperrell for his single successful campaign at Louisburg was offered for his acceptance and his military career for the present was closed. About the end of the year (1758), he resigned his commission as colonel of the first Virginia regiment and commander-in-chief of all the troops raised in the Colony.

"The officers whom he commanded," says Marshall,* "were greatly attached to him. They manifested their esteem and their regret at parting by a very affectionate address, expressive of the high opinion they entertained both of his military and private character.

"This opinion was not confined to the officers of his regiment; it was common to Virginia and had been adopted

*Life of Washington, chapter I.

by the British officers with whom he served. The duties he performed though not splendid, were arduous, and were executed with zeal and with judgment. The exact discipline he established in his regiment when the temper of Virginia was extremely hostile to discipline does credit to his military character, and the gallantry the troops displayed whenever called into action, manifests the spirit infused into them by their commander.

"The difficulties of his situation while unable to cover the frontier from the French and Indians who were spreading death and desolation in every quarter were incalculably great, and no better evidence of his exertions under these distressing circumstances can be given than the undiminished confidence still placed in him by those whom he was unable to protect.

"The efforts to which he incessantly stimulated his country for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Ohio; the system for the conduct of the war which he continually recommended; the vigorous and active measures always urged upon those by whom he was commanded; manifest an ardent and enterprising mind, tempered by judgment, and quickly improved by experience."

In a former part of this chapter, we have mentioned a visit of Washington to the seat of government at Williamsburg for the purpose of obtaining supplies and an augmentation of pay for the soldiers of his regiment. It was during this journey that he became acquainted with the lady with whom he was afterward united in marriage. Her maiden name was Martha Danbridge. She was descended from an ancient family that migrated to the Colony. She was born in the county of New Kent, May, 1732. At the age of seventeen she had been married to Col. Daniel Parke Custis, a planter of the same county, and resided at the "White House," on the banks of Pamunkey river.

Mrs. Custis was early left a widow with two children* and a large fortune. She was on a visit to the family of a neighbor, Mr. Chamberlayne, when Washington first met her on his journey from Winchester to Williamsburg.†

"It was in 1758," says her biographer,‡ "that an officer attired in a military undress and attended by a body servant tall and militaire as his chief, crossed the ferry called Williams', over the Pamunkey, a branch of the York river. On the boat touching the southern or New Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages who give the beau ideal of the Virginia gentleman of the old régime — the very soul of kindness and hospitality. He would hear of no excuse on the officer's part for declining the invitation to stop at his house. In vain the colonel pleaded important business at Williamsburg; Mr. Chamberlayne insisted that his friend must dine with him at the very least. He promised as a tempation to introduce him to a young and charming widow who chanced then to be an inmate of his dwelling. At last the soldier surrendered at discretion, resolving however to pursue his journey the same evening. They proceeded to the mansion. Mr. Chamberlayne presented Colonel Washington to his various guests among whom was the beautiful Mrs. Custis. Tradition says that the two were favorably impressed with each other at the first interview.

The acquaintance thus auspiciously commenced was followed by an engagement soon after, the marriage being deferred till the close of the campaign. It took place at the lady's residence, the "White House," on the 6th of January, 1759.

The mansion of Mount Vernon, which became their resi-

* Martha, who died at Mount Vernon, 1777, and John, who died in 1781.

† Custis, "Memoir of Martha Washington."

‡ Mrs. Ellet, "Women of the Revolution."

dence soon after the marriage, was then a very small building compared with its present extent, and the numerous outbuildings attached to it. The mansion-house consisted of four rooms on a floor forming the center of the present building, and remained pretty much in that state up to 1774, when Colonel Washington repaired to the first Congress in Philadelphia, and from thence to the command-in-chief of the armies of his country assembled before Cambridge, July, 1775. The commander-in-chief returned no more to reside at Mount Vernon till after the peace of 1783. Mrs. Washington accompanied the general to the lines before Boston and witnessed its siege and evacuation. She then returned to Virginia, the subsequent campaigns being of too momentous a character to allow of her accompanying the army.

At the close of each campaign an aide-de-camp repaired to Mount Vernon to escort her to the headquarters. The arrival of Mrs. Washington at camp was an event much anticipated and was always the signal for the ladies of the general officers to repair to the bosoms of their lords. The arrival of the aide-de-camp escorting the plain chariot with the neat postillions in their scarlet and white liveries was deemed an epoch in the army and served to diffuse a cheering influence amid the gloom which hung over our destinies at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. Mrs. Washington always remained at the headquarters till the opening of the campaign, and often remarked in after life that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening and the last at the closing of all the campaigns of the Revolutionary War. During the whole of that mighty period when we struggled for independence, Mrs. Washington preserved her equanimity, together with a degree of cheerfulness that inspired all around her with the brightest hopes for our ultimate success.*

* Custis, "Memoir of Martha Washington."

PART III.

OPENING SCENES OF THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

WASHINGTON IN RETIREMENT—CAMPAIGN OF 1759.

1759.

THE marriage of Washington to Mrs. Custis brought with it a large accession to his fortune. By it he became entitled to a third part of the estate of the deceased Daniel Parke Custis, and he was invested with the care of the other two-thirds by a decree of the general court which he obtained in order to strenghten the power he previously had in consequence of his wife's administration of the whole estate.*

The addition thus made to Washington's estate was not less than $100,000. He had also the estate of Mount Vernon and considerable tracts of land in various parts of Virginia, selected while he was employed in surveying.

Mrs. Custis at the time of her second marriage had two children, a son six years old and a daughter four, to each of whom was left a third of the estate of their father. Washington became guardian of these children, an office which he discharged with strict fidelity and paternal affection.

* Letter to Robert Cary.— Sparks' "Writings of Washington," vol. II, p. 328.

The newly-married couple remained at the "White House," the late residence of the Custis family for three months after their marriage, during which time Washington appears to have given his attention to the affairs of the estate. They then retired to Washington's favorite residence, Mount Vernon.

During the first year of their residence in this delightful home occurred the campaign of 1759, which, although Washington took no active part in it, forms too important and influential a portion of the history of his "Times," to be passed over in silence. We shall therefore notice briefly its more important events.

The plan of the campaign was that three powerful armies should enter the French possessions by three different routes and attack all their strongholds at nearly the same time. At the head of one division of the army, Brigadier-General Wolfe, who had so recently signalized himself at the siege of Louisburg, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec, escorted by a strong fleet to co-operate with his troops.

The central and main body composed of British and provincials was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by the able, but cautious, General Amherst, the new commander-in-chief, who, after making himself master of these places, was to proceed over Lake Champlain and by the way of Richelieu river to the St. Lawrence, and descending that river form a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. This latter service however he was not destined to accomplish in season to render any assistance to Wolfe.

The third army to be composed principally of provincials reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians under the direction of Sir William Johnson was to be commanded by General Prideaux, who was to lead this division first

against Niagara and after the reduction of that place, to embark on Lake Ontario and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise, but it was not till the last of May that his troops, 12,000 in number, were assembled at Albany, and it was as late as the 22d of July (1759), when after crossing Lake George in boats, batteaux, and rafts, he appeared before Ticonderoga.

Montcalm, who had so successfully resisted the attack of Abercrombie in the preceding year, was no longer in command at Ticonderoga being engaged in preparations for the defense of Quebec. The garrison consisting of only 400 men was under the command of Bourlamarque. Perceiving the utter folly of attempting a defense against such fearful odds, he dismantled the fortifications and abandoned them as well as those at Crown Point, and retreated to Isle aux Noix, a convenient point for concentrating a force for the defense of Montreal and the province.

Instead of pursuing him with a view to a speedy junction of his forces with those of General Wolfe, General Amherst committed the grave error of wasting time in repairing the works at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Meantime the enemy were assembling a force of between three and four thousand at Isle aux Noix.

The result of General Amherst's extreme caution and delay was that he failed to effect a junction of his forces with those of General Wolfe, and his army at the close of the season went into winter quarters at Crown Point.

In the prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, General Prideaux had embarked with an army on Lake Ontario, and on the 6th of July (1759), landed without opposition within about three miles from the fort which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege he was

killed by the bursting of a cohorn, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson.* That general, prosecuting with judgment and vigor the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within 100 yards of the covered way.

Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighboring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Isle, with which and a party of Indians they resolved if possible to raise the siege. Apprised of their intention to hazard a battle, General Johnson order his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress; placed the

* Sir William Johnson was born in Ireland, about the year 1715. Early in life he went to America with his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, and, after hesitating for some time as to what profession he should adopt, at length entered the army, in which he gradually rose to the rank of major-general. In 1755 he was placed at the head of an expedition against Crown Point, which however he did not succeed in capturing, although he obtained a brilliant victory over the French under General Dieskau, whom he took prisoner. Parliament testified its approbation of Johnson's conduct on this occasion by voting him £5,000. In 1759 he commanded the provincials of New York, and acted under Prideaux at the siege of Niagara, as related in the text.

He now devoted his attention to the establishment of a more permanent and extensive communion than had previously existed between the British and the Indians, and effected several advantageous treaties with the Senecas and other tribes. In June, 1760, he induced 1,000 of the Iroquois to join General Amherst at Oswego; and, subsequently, encouraged the colonists to intermarry with the aboriginal inhabitants. He was at length chosen colonel of the Six Nations, as well as superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern parts of America; and settling on the banks of the Mohawk river, he soon became well acquainted with the manners and language of the Indians, relative to which he sent an inter-

auxiliary Indians on his flanks, and together with this preparation for an engagement took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

About nine in the morning of the 24th of July (1759), the enemy appeared and the horrible sound of the warwhoop from the hostile Indians was the signal of battle. The French charged with great impetuosity but were received with firmness, and in less than an hour were completely routed.

This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson the next morning opened negotiations with the French commandant, and in a few hours a capitulation was signed. The garrison consisting of 607 men were to march out with the honors of war to be embarked on the lake and carried to New York, and the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara

esting communication to the Royal Society, in November, 1772. He died about two years afterward, leaving a son, who succeeded to the baronetage.

Brave, energetic, and enterprising, Johnson was particularly well qualified for the services on which he was employed. He is described as having possessed such a genius for acquiring popularity among all kinds of men that the regular troops respected, the provincials loved, and the Indians almost adored him. It is added that he was a man of perfect integrity, and employed his talents solely for the benefit of his country. The victory which he obtained over Dieskau, although it did not lead to the result that had been expected, infused confidence into the British, who appear to have been greatly disheartened by the recent defeat, by the French and Indians, of General Braddock's forces near Fort Duquesne. The capture of Niagara effectually broke off, according to the Annual Register of the period, "that communication so much talked of, and so much dreaded, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this stroke, one of the capital political designs of the French, which gave occasion to the war, was defeated in its direct and immediate object."

effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the most daring and important. Strong by nature and still stronger by art, Quebec had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America, and every attempt against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation, and its capture must have appeared chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged rightly however that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful, especially when committed to ardent minds glowing with enthusiasm and emulous of glory. Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisburg had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition and gave him for assistants, Brigadier-Generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent.

Early in the season he sailed from Halifax with 8,000 troops, and near the last of June (1759) landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope.

"When," he says in a letter to Pitt, "that succors of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec, that five batteries of regular troops, some of the troops of the Colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought however an occasion to attack their army knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight and that a victory might disperse them."

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence

and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence which runs parallel to it far to the westward.

At the top of this eminence is a plain upon which the upper town is situated. Below or east of the city is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough and whose banks are steep and broken. At a short distance farther down is the Montmorency, and between these two rivers and reaching from one to the other was encamped the French army, strongly intrenched, and superior in number to that of the English, but they were chiefly Canadians. There was also a large auxiliary force of Indians.

General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. The cannonade which was kept up, though it destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works which were too strong and too remote to be materially affected, their elevation at the same time placing them beyond the reach of the fleet. Convinced of the impossibility of reducing the place unless he could erect batteries on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring measures.

The northern shore of the St. Lawrence to a considerable distance above Quebec is so bold and rocky as to render a landing in the face of an enemy impracticable. If an attempt were made below the town, the river Montmorency passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles would present a new and perhaps insuperable barrier.

With every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe heroically observing that a "victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to an engagement. In pursuance of this resolution thirteen companies of English grenadiers and part of the second

battalion of Royal Americans were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions under Generals Townshend and Murray prepared to cross it higher up. Wolfe's plan was to attack first a redoubt close to the water's edge, apparently beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's intrenchments, in the belief that the French by attempting to support that fortification would put it in his power to bring on a general engagement, or if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, that he could afterward examine their situation with coolness and advantageously regulate his future operations.

On the approach of the British troops the redoubt was evacuated, and the general observing some confusion in the French camp changed his original plan and determined not to delay an attack. Orders were immediately dispatched to the Generals Townshend and Murray to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river, and the grenadiers and Royal Americans were directed to form on the beach until they could be properly sustained.

These troops however not waiting for support rushed impetuously toward the enemy's intrenchments, but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musketry that they were instantly thrown into disorder and obliged to seek shelter at the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunderstorm they were still within reach of a severe fire from the French, and many gallant officers exposing their persons in attempting to form their troops were killed, the whole loss amounting to nearly 500 men. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English general gave orders for repassing the river and returning to the Isle of Orleans.

Compelled to abandon the attack on that side, Wolfe deemed that advantage might result from attempting to destroy the French fleet, and by distracting the attention

of Montcalm with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray with 1,200 men in transports made two vigorous but abortive attempts to land, and though more successful in the third he did nothing more than burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land or water, and the commander-in-chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops.

At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle aux Noix.

While Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms he could not avoid contrasting their success with his own disastrous efforts. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and his extreme anxiety, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh, and as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise.

In a letter written to Mr. Pitt at this time he says: "The French did not attempt to interrupt us, but some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is." His situation seemed growing desperate and his health began to fail him. In his letter to Pitt, which was written from his headquarters at Montmorency on the 2d of September (1759), more than a month after this failure, he confessed that he had descended to the dubiousness and despondency of consulting a council of war. After saying that he had been suffering by a fever, he adds: "I found

myself so ill and am still so weak that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. * * * To the uncommon strength of this country the enemy have added, for the defense of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the Indians round our posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. * * * We have the whole force of Canada to oppose. In the situation there is such a choice of difficulties that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event." When this letter reached England it excited consternation and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favorite general, and that the next news would be either that he had been destroyed or had capitulated. But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle Wolfe had said he would do his best — and that best turned out a miracle in war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying.

Nothing however could shake the resolution of this valiant commander or induce him to abandon the attempt. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the Isle of Orleans was accordingly abandoned, and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi and a part higher up the river.

Montcalm, apprehending from this movement that the invaders might make a distant descent and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville, with 1,500 men, to watch their motions and prevent their landing.

Baffled and harassed in all his previous assaults General

Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise by a single bold and determined effort. The admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops, and during the night a strong detachment in flat-bottomed boats fell silently down the stream to a point about a mile above the city.

The beach was shelving, the bank high and precipitous, and the only path by which it could be scaled was now defended by a captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Howe,* with the van, soon clambered up the rocks, drove away the guard, and seized upon the battery.

The army landed about an hour before day and by daybreak was marshaled on the Heights of Abraham.

Montcalm could not at first believe this intelligence, but as soon as assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle which it was no longer possible to avoid. Leaving his camp at Montmorency he crossed the river St. Charles with the intention of attacking the English army.

No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by General Monckton and the left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers and the rear and left by Lieutenant-Colonel Howe's light infantry.

The form in which the French advanced, indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was sent with the battalion of Amherst and the two battalions of Royal Americans to that part of the line, and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted

* Sir William Howe, subsequently distinguished in the Revolutionary War.

of one regiment drawn up in eight divisions with large intervals.

The dispositions made by the French general were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and Colonial troops. The center consisted of a column formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers, but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English.

About 9 in the morning the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two generals met each other where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line, and then by a general discharge made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained and the enemy everywhere yielded.

General Wolfe who, exposed in the front of his battalions, had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptoms of pain wrapped a handkerchief round his arm and continued to encourage his men. Soon after he received a shot in the groin, but concealing the wound he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers with fixed bayonets, when a third ball pierced his breast.

Perceiving that his wound was mortal his only anxiety appears to have been that the soldiers might not be disheartened by seeing him fall. Leaning on a lieutenant for support, he said "Let not my brave fellows see me drop." He was conveyed to the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered in the agonies of death the greatest solicitude

concerning the result of the battle. Faint and exhausted with the pain of his wounds he rested his head on the arm of an officer. He was aroused by cries of "They fly, they fly! see them fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. Nerving himself to a last effort of duty he gave a hasty order for cutting off the enemy's retreat, and then turning on his side, he said "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace," and expired.

We cannot forbear quoting in this connection the simple and feeling observations of General Townshend respecting his heroic friend, whose fate threw so affecting a luster on this memorable victory: "I am not ashamed to own to you that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe; our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned length of life."

The army, not disconcerted by the fall of their general, continued the action under Monckton on whom the command now devolved, but who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to General Townshend.

Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalions, received a mortal wound* about the same time, and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British grenadiers pressed on with their bayonets. General Murray,

* Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal

briskly advancing with the troops under his direction, broke the center of the French army.

The Highlanders drawing their broadswords completed the confusion of the enemy, and after having lost their first and second in command the right and center of the French were entirely driven from the field, and the left was following their example when Bougainville appeared in the rear, with the 1,500 men who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him, but he retired and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded of the English army did not amount to 600 men.

Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville or from Montreal, yet General Townshend had scarcely finished a road in the bank to get his heavy artillery for a siege, when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil and religious rights. A garrison of 5,000 men was left under General Murray, and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the Plains of Abraham, retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by 10,000 Canadian militia and a body of Indians.

wound he was carried into the city; and when informed that it was mortal his reply was, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

With these forces M. de Levi, who had succeeded the Marquis of Montcalm in the chief command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. He had hoped to carry the place by a *coup de main*, during the winter, but on reconnoitering he found the outposts so well secured, and the Governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed the enterprise until spring.

In the month of April (1760), when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was so open as to admit of transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage were embarked at Montreal and fell down the river under convoy of six frigates, and M. de Levi, after a march of ten days arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been intrusted, had taken every precaution to preserve it, but his troops had suffered so much by the extreme cold of the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions that instead of 5,000, the original number of his garrison, there were not at this time above 3,000 men fit for service.

With this small but valiant body the English general resolved to meet the enemy in the field, and on the 28th of April marched out to the Plains of Abraham where, near Sillery, he attacked the French under M. de Levi with great impetuosity. He was received with firmness, and after a fierce encounter, finding himself outflanked and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he called off his troops and retired into the city.

In this action the loss of the English was near 1,000 men, and that of the French still greater. The French general lost no time in improving his victory. On the very evening of the battle he opened trenches before the town, but

it was the 11th of May before he could mount his batteries and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications.

By that time General Murray, who had been indefatigable in his exertions, had completed some outworks and planted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers, and in a manner silenced their batteries. A British fleet arriving most opportunely a few days after, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege and precipitately retired to Montreal.

Here the Marquis of Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, had fixed his headquarters and determined to make his last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments and collected around him the whole force of the Colony.

The English, on the other hand, were resolved on the total annihilation of the French power in Canada, and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with an irresistible superiority of numbers.

Almost on the same day the armies from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain were concentrated before Montreal, and M. de Vaudreuil found himself obliged on the 8th of September, 1760, to sign a capitulation by which that city and the whole of Canada were transferred to British dominion. He obtained liberal stipulations for the good treatment of the inhabitants, and particularly the free exercise of the Catholic faith, and the preservation of the property belonging to the religious communities. He even demanded that the bishop should continue to be appointed by the French monarch, but this was of course refused. The possession of Canada, as well as of all the adjoining countries, was confirmed to Britain by the peace of Paris, signed on the 10th of February, 1763.

The population at the time of the conquest was stated by

Governor Murray to amount to 69,275, consisting mostly of cultivators, a frugal, industrious, and moral race; with a noblesse, also very poor, but much respected, among them. The Indians converted to Catholics were estimated at 7,400. The inhabitants were involved in great calamity by the refusal of the French Government to pay the bills drawn and the paper currency issued by M. Bigot, the late intendant, who had been guilty of most extensive peculation. The gross sum is stated by Raynal at 80,000,000 livres (£3,333,000 sterling), but considering the small number and poverty of the people we cannot help suspecting it to be much exaggerated. It is said that the claims were, on grounds of equity, reduced to 38,000,000; though, according to M'Gregor, no more was received in turn for them than £250,000 in money, and £125,000 in bonds, which never became effective.

The terms in favor of the French residents were faithfully and even liberally fulfilled by the British Government. All offices however were conferred on British subjects, who then consisted only of military men, with not quite 500 petty traders, many of whom were ill-fitted for so important a situation. They showed a bigoted spirit and an offensive contempt of the old inhabitants, including even their class of nobles. General Murray, notwithstanding, strenuously protected the latter, without regard to repeated complaints made against him to the ministry at home, and by this impartial conduct he gained their confidence in a degree which became conspicuous on occasion of the great revolt of the united Colonies.

During that momentous period, though pressingly invited to assist the latter, the Canadians never swerved from their allegiance. With a view to conciliate them the "Quebec Act," passed in 1774, changed the English civil law, which had been at first introduced, for the ancient system

called the *Coutume de Paris*. The French language was also directed to be employed in the law courts, and other changes made with the view of gratifying that nation. These concessions did not however give universal satisfaction, especially as they were not attended with any grant of a national representation.

In the prosecution of the war between Great Britain and France, which was terminated by the peace of Paris February 10, 1763, after a conflict lasting seven years the advantages which Great Britain derived from the Colonies were severely felt by her enemies. Upward of 400 privateers which were fitted out of the ports of the British Colonies successfully cruised on French property. These not only ravaged the West India islands belonging to his most Catholic Majesty, but made many captures on the coast of France. Besides distressing the French nation by privateering, the Colonies furnished 23,800 men to co-operate with the British regular forces in North America. They also sent powerful aids, both in men and provisions, out of their own limits, which facilitated the reduction of Martinique and of Havana. The success of their privateers — the co-operation of their land forces — the convenience of their harbors, and the contiguity to the West India islands, made the Colonies great acquisitions to Britain and formidable adversaries to France. From their growing importance the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great Britain threatened the subversion of the commerce and American possessions of France.

After hostilities had raged nearly eight years, a general peace was concluded, on terms by which France ceded Canada to Great Britain. The Spaniards having also taken part in the war were, at the termination of it, induced to relinquish to the same power both East and West Florida. This peace gave Great Britain possession of an extent of

country equal in dimensions to several of the kingdoms of Europe. The possession of Canada in the north and of the two Floridas in the south, made her almost sole mistress of the North American continent.

This laid a foundation for future greatness which excited the envy and the fears of Europe. Her navy, her commerce, and her manufactures had greatly increased when she held but a part of the continent, and when she was bounded by the formidable powers of France and Spain. Her probable future greatness, when without a rival, and with a growing vent for her manufactures and increasing employment for her marine, threatened to destroy that balance of power which European sovereigns had for a long time endeavored to preserve.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

1759–1763.

DURING the stirring events which are recorded in the preceding chapter, Washington remained at Mount Vernon, busily engaged in the care of his extensive plantation. He occasionally refers to them however in his letters. Writing to his London agent in September, 1759, he says: "The scale of fortune in America is turned greatly in our favor, and success has become the companion of our fortunate generals. It would be folly in me to attempt particularizing their actions, since you receive accounts in a channel so much more direct than from hence." In another letter to the same correspondent (May 10, 1760) he says: "The French are so well drubbed, and seem so much humbled in America that I apprehend our generals will find it no difficult matter to reduce Canada to our obedience this summer. But what may be Montgomery's fate in the Cherokee country I cannot so readily determine. It seems he has made a prosperous beginning, having penetrated into the heart of the country, and he is now advancing his troops in high health and spirits to the relief of Fort Loudoun. But let him be wary. He has a crafty, subtle enemy to deal with that may give him most trouble when he least expects it."

No man ever understood the character of the Indians more thoroughly than Washington. His intercourse with them during that portion of the Seven Years' War, in

which he took an active part, had made him well acquainted with their native disposition and their peculiar tactics in war. How justly his apprehensions for the safety of Montgomery and his detachment were conceived, will appear from the following account of his expedition, extracted from Dr. Holmes's American Annals.

During these decisive operations in the north, the English colonists in the south sustained no small calamity from the natives. The French were no sooner driven from Fort Duquesne than their baleful influence appeared among the Upper Cherokees. Unhappily, at that time, a quarrel with the Virginians contributed to alienate those Indian tribes from the English, with whom they had long been in alliance. The Cherokees, agreeably to treaty, had sent considerable parties of their warriors to assist the British in their expeditions against Fort Duquesne. Many of these warriors, on their return home through the back parts of Virginia, losing their horses, laid hold on such as they found running wild in the woods, without supposing them to belong to any individuals. The Virginians, resenting this injury, killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspicious warriors and took several prisoners. The Cherokees, highly provoked at this ungrateful usage from allies whose frontiers they had been helping to defend, determined to take revenge. The French inflamed their vindictive rage by telling them that the English intended to kill every man of them, and to make their wives and children slaves, and at the same time furnished them with arms and ammunition. The frontiers of Carolina soon feeling the horrible effects of their incursions, Governor Littleton, toward the close of the last year (1759), had marched at the head of 800 militia and 300 regulars into the country of the Cherokees where, without any bloodshed, a treaty of peace was concluded.

Early in the present year, when joyous celebrations of the

peace were scarcely concluded, the Governor was informed that fresh hostilities had been committed by the Cherokees, who had killed fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. The war soon becoming general an express was sent to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America, acquainting him with the distressed state of Carolina and imploring his assistance. A battalion of Highlanders and four companies of the Royal Scots were accordingly sent under the command of Colonel Montgomery for the relief of that province. Before the end of April (1760) Montgomery landed his troops in Carolina and encamped at Monk's Corner. A few weeks after his arrival he marched to the Congaree, where he was joined by the whole force of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. After burning all the towns in the lower nation, in which sixty Indians were killed and forty made prisoners, he marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which was invested by the savages. After relieving that fort, finding the Indians not disposed to listen to proposals of accommodation, he marched forward through the dismal wilderness, where he encountered many hardships and dangers, until he came within five miles of Etchoe, the lowest town in the middle settlements. Here he found a deep valley covered with bushes, in the middle of which was a muddy river, with steep clay banks. Colonel Morrison, who commanded a company of rangers, had orders to advance and scour the thicket, but scarcely had he entered it, when the Indians, springing from their covert, fired upon them and killed the captain and many of his men. The light infantry and grenadiers being now ordered to advance against the invisible enemy, a heavy fire began on both sides. Colonel Montgomery, finding the number of the Indians to be great, and their determination to dispute this pass obstinate, ordered the Royal Scots

to advance between the enemy and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched toward the left, to sustain the infantry and grenadiers. The Indians at length giving way, and having taken possession of a hill, continued still to retreat as the army advanced. Montgomery gave orders to the line to face about and march directly for Etchoe. The enemy, observing this movement, got behind the hill and ran to alarm their wives and children. Perceiving the difficulty and hazard of a further pursuit the English commander gave orders for a retreat, which was conducted with great regularity to Fort Prince George. During this action, which continued above an hour, Colonel Montgomery had twenty men killed and seventy-six wounded.

To revenge this invasion, the Cherokees blockaded Fort Loudoun, situated near the confines of Virginia. This post, consisting of 200 men commanded by Captain Demeré, being 150 miles from Charleston, was cut off from all communication with the English. The garrison, having subsisted some time on horseflesh, was ultimately reduced to such extremity as to be obliged to surrender the place on capitulation. The troops were to march out with their ammunition and baggage, and to be conducted to Virginia or Fort Prince George, but after marching about fifteen miles from the fort they were at night deserted by their attendants, and the next morning surrounded by the Indians, who poured in a heavy fire upon them, accompanied with the most hideous yells. Captain Demeré, with three other officers and about twenty-six privates, fell at the first onset. The rest were made prisoners, and after being kept some time in a miserable state of captivity were redeemed by the province at a great expense. The Cherokees could at this time bring into the field 3,000 warriors.

We have already noticed the election of Washington as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, while he was engaged in his military duties during the campaign of 1758. Being solicited by some of his friends to obtain leave of absence and join in the electioneering contest, he had declined leaving his post, but the result was not the less triumphant and gratifying on this account. Great military services had already become in America the best passport to political honors.

[In a letter of September 20, 1759, to Richard Washington, of London, England, a relative who attended to English business for him, Washington wrote:

"My brother is safe arrived; but little benefited in point of health by his trip to England. The longing desire which for many years I have had of visiting the great metropolis of that kingdom, is not in the least abated by his prejudices, because I think the small share of health he enjoyed there must have given a sensible check to any pleasures he might figure to himself, and would render any place irksome — but I am now tied by the leg and must set inclination aside.

"The scale of fortune in America is turned greatly in our favor, and Success is become the boon companion of our Fortunate Generals. 'Twould be folly in me to attempt particularizing their actions since you receive accounts in a channel so much more direct than from hence.

"I am now, I believe, fixed at this seat (Mount Vernon) with an agreeable consort for life; and hope to find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced amidst a wide and bustling world. I thank you heartily for your affectionate wishes. Why wont you give me an occasion of congratulating you in the same manner? None would do it with more cordiality and true sincerity."

To Robert Cary & Co., of London, English merchants, Washington stated, in a letter of September 20, 1759:

"I am possessed of several plantations on this river (Potomac) and the fine lands of Shenandoah, and should be glad if you would ingenuously tell me what prices I might expect you to render for tobaccos made thereon, of the same seed as that of the estate's, and managed in every respect in the same manner as the best tobaccos on James and York rivers are."

In a very large order for goods to be sent from London, the following items appear: Busts of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, of Charles XII. of Sweden, and of the King of Prussia; these not to exceed fifteen inches in height; and two smaller busts, of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough.

In a letter of August 10, 1760, Washington speaks of "Colonel Fairfax's departure for England in a ship for London," and in the same letter he says to his correspondent, Richard Washington:

"My indulging myself in a trip to England depends upon so many contingencies, which, in all probability, may never occur, that I dare not even think of such a gratification. Nothing, however, is more ardently desired. But Mrs. Washington and myself would both think ourselves very happy in the opportunity of showing you the Virginia hospitality, which is the most agreeable entertainment we can give, or a stranger expect to find, in an infant, woody country like ours."

About a year later Washington wrote: "Colonel Fairfax very much surprises his friends in Virginia by not writing to any of them. Just upon his arrival at London he favored a few with a short letter advertising them of that agreeable circumstance, and I have heard of no other letter that has come from him since, although I have seen

some from the ladies, the superscription of which has been in his handwriting."

At this date Washington speaks of "a valuable purchase I have just made of about 2,000 acres of land adjoining this seat," and then adds: "Since writing the foregoing I have added to my landed purchase." He remarks on the possibility of somewhat overdrawing his account in case of a special "prospect of advantage," and yet says: "My own aversion to running in debt will always secure me against a step of this nature, unless a manifest advantage is likely to be the result of it."]

While he was still residing at the "White House," before returning to Mount Vernon, a session of the House of Burgesses took place, which he attended. An incident, referred to by all his biographers, took place during this session, which is thus described by Mr. Wirt in his "Life of Patrick Henry:"

By a vote of the House, the Speaker, Mr. Robinson, was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington, on behalf of the Colony, for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to his country. As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor, but such was his trepidation and confusion that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second, when the Speaker relieved him by a stroke of address that would have done honor to Louis XIV in his proudest and happiest moment: "Sit down, Mr. Washington," said he, with a conciliating

smile, " your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

Washington by repeated elections retained his seat in the House of Burgesses till the commencement of the Revolutionary War, a period of fifteen years; discharging his legislative duties with that scrupulous fidelity which, through life, he observed in fulfilling every engagement upon which he entered. His career as a legislator was precisely such as might have been anticipated from his general character. His decisions were formed upon a thorough and careful investigation of facts, and his course was marked by firmness and candor. The few words which, on rare occasions, he deemed it worth while to address to the House in debate, were consequently always listened to with a degree of attention and deference which was the best tribute to his sound judgment and weight of character. In the stormy times which immediately preceded the Revolution, he was ever found taking part with the patriotic members of the House.

Washington was extremely fond of agriculture and of rural pleasures and pursuits, and on taking up his residence at Mount Vernon, it was his settled purpose to pass in these the remainder of his life. But Providence had in reserve for him a higher destiny than that of farming, hunting, fishing, and interchanging hospitalities with other country gentlemen. Such however were his pursuits during a considerable part of his prime of life — no less than fifteen years.

It must be observed however that while he was engaged in these rural pursuits he devoted his whole attention to them; it being a maxim with him that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well and thoroughly. He superintended personally all the agricultural operations on his estate, kept his own accounts, shipped the produce of his

plantation to London, Bristol, or Liverpool, and received from thence his supplies in his own name. All the details of these operations were attended to by him with the most scrupulous care, nothing being too trivial to escape his attention.

The staple article of culture in Virginia at that time was tobacco, and this formed the chief product of Washington's plantation. He exported it to England, putting it on board of vessels which came up the Potomac to Mount Vernon to receive it.

In the colonial times it was the policy of the mother country to discourage every species of American manufactures, and not only agricultural implements and clothing, but almost everything required for the daily use of a family, was imported from Great Britain. These it was Washington's practice to order twice a year from his agent in London, and the minuteness and particularity of his orders show his habitual accuracy and somewhat of fondness for detail.

In a letter to his London agent dated 10th August, 1760, Washington says: "My indulging myself in a trip to England depends upon so many contingencies which in all probability may never occur that I dare not even think of such a gratification." If the visit thus referred to had ever taken place we cannot doubt of the cordiality of his reception. His character and public services were well known in the mother country, but we cannot admit the probability suggested by some writers that any tokens of royal favor which he might have received, would have attached him to the cause of Great Britain in the approaching contest between her and her American Colonies. Washington notwithstanding the conspicuous positions which he occupied at different periods of his life appears to have been by no means ambitious of public tokens of applause, and if he had a strong desire to visit Europe it was un-

doubtedly with a view to enlarge his knowledge by personal observation of European life.

He had, it must be admitted, many strong reasons for declining to travel abroad. Every imaginable external means of happiness appears to have been at his disposal. An independent fortune, a beautiful and amiable wife, interesting and lovely children to whom, though not his own, he stood in a paternal relation, agreeable and distinguished neighbors, an employment peculiarly suited to his taste, and a residence which has always been admired as one of the most delightful in the world and which was endeared to him by recollections of his early life.

Of Mount Vernon he speaks in strong terms of praise in a letter to Arthur Young (1783). "No estate," he says, "in United America is more pleasantly situated than this. It lies in a high, dry, and healthy country 300 miles by water from the sea, and as you will see by the plan on one of the finest rivers in the world. Its margin is washed by more than ten miles of tide-water, from the bed of which and the innumerable coves, inlets, and small marshes with which it abounds an inexhaustible fund of rich mud may be drawn as a manure, either to be used separately or in a compost, according to the judgment of the farmer. It is situated in a latitude between the extremes of heat and cold, and is the same distance by land and water with good roads and the best navigation to and from the Federal city, Alexandria, and Georgetown, distant from the first twelve, from the second nine, and from the last sixteen miles.

* * * * * *

"This river which encompasses the land the distance above mentioned, is well supplied with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year, and in the spring, with the greatest profusion of shad, herrings, bass, carp, perch, stur-

geon, etc. Several valuable fisheries appertain to the estate; the whole shore, in short, is one entire fishery."

[In a letter of July 14, 1761, to Richard Washington in London, Washington reported that "a mixture of bad health and indolence together" had kept him from answering letters; and August 26th he writes from "The Warm Springs":

"They are situated very badly on the east side of a steep mountain, and inclosed by hills on all sides, so that the afternoon's sun is hid by 4 o'clock and the fogs hang over us till 9 or 10, which occasions great damps, and the mornings and evenings to be cool.

"Lodgings can be had on no terms, but building for them; and I am of opinion that numbers get more hurt, by their manner of lying, than the waters can do them good. Had we not succeeded in getting a tent and marquee from Winchester we should have been in a most miserable situation here.

"In regard to myself I must beg leave to say, that I was much overcome with the fatigue of the ride and weather together. Our journey was not of the most agreeable sort, through such weather and such roads as we had to encounter; these last for twenty or twenty-five miles from hence are almost impassable for carriages, not so much from the mountainous country (but this in fact is very rugged) as from trees that have fallen across the road and rendered the way intolerable. However, I think my fevers are a good deal abated, although my pains grow rather worse, and my sleep equally disturbed. What effect the waters may have upon me I can't say at present, but I expect nothing from the air — this certainly must be unwholesome. I purpose to stay here a fortnight and longer if benefited.

"P. S. If I could be upon any certainty of your coming,

or could only get four days previous notice of your arrival, I would get a house built, such as are here erected, for your reception.

"August 30th. Since writing the above I have hired a person,— a Fairfax man returning home for his wife — to carry some letters to Mrs. Washington, under whose cover this goes. I think myself benefited by the waters, and am now with hopes of their making a cure of me."

October 20, 1761, Washington wrote to his London friend, Richard Washington:

"Since my last, of the 14th July, I have in appearance been very near my last gasp. The indisposition then spoken of increased upon me, and I fell into a very low and dangerous state. I once thought the grim king would master my utmost efforts, and that I must sink, in spite of a noble struggle; but, thank God, I have now got the better of the disorder, and shall soon be restored, I hope, to perfect health again."

In a letter of April, 1763, to Robert Stewart, who had written asking for a loan of £400, Washington alleged the state of his affairs as making it impossible for him to raise more than £300, and that only by using funds which he had intended sending to his London creditors; and to this he added:

"This is a genuine account of my affairs in England. Here they are a little better, because I am not much in debt. I doubt not but you will be surprised at the badness of their condition unless you will consider under what terrible management and disadvantages I found my estate when I retired from the public service of this colony; and that, besides some purchases of lands and negroes I was necessitated to make adjoining me (in order to support the expenses of a large family), I had provisions of all kinds to buy for the first two or three years; and my

plantation to stock in short with everything; buildings to make, and other matters, which swallowed up, before I well knew where I was, all the money I got by marriage, nay more, brought me in debt — and I believe I may appeal to your knowledge of my circumstances before."]

At the time when Washington was passing his time in cultivating the fertile lands of Mount Vernon, the neighboring estates were large and their owners wealthy, and among them the practice of a liberal hospitality was universal. Many of the planters were connected with the old cavalier families in England, descendants of the men who in Governor Berkeley's time were the first to proclaim the accession of Charles II to the throne. It is not surprising that among them it was a common practice to send their sons to England to receive their education. The tone of society was English, and to tell the truth rather aristocratic. The Episcopal Church was as firmly established in Virginia as that of the Congregational Puritans in New England. The parishes were large, being in proportion to the large plantations of which they were composed. Washington held the office of vestrymen in two of them, Truro and Fairfax. The place of worship of Truro parish was at Pohick, seven miles distant from the mansion of Mount Vernon, and the pastor during a part of the time when Washington was a vestryman was the Rev. Mason L. Weems, so well and extensively known through his lively and eccentric biography of his illustrious parishioner. The place of worship for Fairfax county was Alexandria, ten miles from Mount Vernon.

Washington took a lively interest in the affairs of the church at Pohick.

About 1764 the old church which stood in a different part of the parish had fallen into decay and it was resolved to build a new one. Its location became a matter

of considerable excitement in the parish, some contending for the site on which the old edifice stood and others for one near the center of the parish and more conveniently situated. Among the latter was Washington. A meeting for settling the question was finally held. George Mason, who led the party favorable to the old site, made an eloquent harangue, conjuring the people not to desert the sacred spot consecrated by the bones of their ancestors. It had a powerful effect and it was thought that there would not be a dissenting voice. Washington then arose and drew from his pocket an accurate survey which he had made of the whole parish, in which was marked the site of the old church and the proposed location of the new one together with the place of residence of each parishioner. He spread this map before the audience, briefly explained it, expressed his hope that they would not allow their judgments to be guided by their feelings and sat down. This mode of argument so perfectly characteristic of Washington decided the question. The new site was adopted by a decisive majority and Pohick church was built in 1765.

Among the neighbors and occasional visitors of Washington were George Mason, of Gunston Hall, his fellow vestryman mentioned above, Lord Fairfax, his early friend and patron, Capt. Hugh Mercer, already noted for his adventures among the Indians,* and Dr. Craik, who had attended Washington in Braddock's expedition and was his family physician through life.

With these and others he exchanged those liberal and rather magnificent hospitalities so prevalent in Virginia in the old colonial times. In their spacious mansions, guests were entertained in the English style for weeks together, and the English nobility were rivaled in the gentlemanly

* Afterward General Mercer. He was killed at the battle of Princeton.

amusements of hunting and horse-racing. Washington himself took delight in hunting and always kept a splendid stud of horses, many of them of high blood and breeding imported from the mother country. He sometimes visited Lord Fairfax at Greenway Court and joined in the hunting expeditions of that eccentric but accomplished and courteous nobleman. "Lord Fairfax was passionately fond of hunting and often passed weeks together in the pleasures of the chase. When on these expeditions he made it a rule that he who got the fox, cut off his tail and held it up, should share in the jollification which was to follow free of expense. Soon as the fox was started the young men of the company dashed after him with great impetuosity, while Fairfax leisurely waited behind with a favorite servant who was familiar with the watercourses and of a quick ear to discover the course of the fox. Following his directions his lordship would start after the game, and in most instances secure the prize and stick the tail of the fox in his hat in triumph."*

Lord Fairfax returned the visits of Washington and often joined the numerous company who were entertained at Mount Vernon, and engaged with them in hunting over the extensive domain of that and the neighboring estates.

Washington occasionally amused himself with the sport so distasteful to Franklin. He sometimes engaged in fishing. The waters about Mount Vernon as we have already seen were stocked with fish in great abundance and variety. Fowling and duck shooting in particular were also favorite amusements with him, and in the late and winter months the waters of the Potomac river abounded with flocks of canvas-back ducks the favorite object of the sportsman in that region.

* Lossing, "Field-Book of the Revolution."— Howe, Hist. Coll. of Virginia.

[Sparks says of the social position of Washington at this time:

"During the periods of his attending the House of Burgesses at Williamsburg, he met on terms of intimacy the eminent men of Virginia, who, in imitation of the governors (sometimes noblemen, and always from the higher ranks of English society), lived in a style of magnificence, which has long since passed away, and given place to the republican simplicity of modern times. He was a frequent visitor at Annapolis, the seat of government in Maryland, renowned as the resort of the polite, wealthy, and fashionable. At Mount Vernon he returned the civilities he had received, and practised, on a large and generous scale, the hospitality for which the southern planters have ever been distinguished. When he was at home, a day seldom passed without the company of friends or strangers at his house. In his diaries the names of these visitors are often mentioned, and we find among them the Governors of Virginia and Maryland, and nearly all the celebrated men of the southern and middle colonies, who were at that time and afterward conspicuous in the history of the country.

"One of his nearest neighbors was George Mason, of Gunston Hall, a man possessing remarkable intellectual powers, deeply conversant with political science, and thoroughly versed in the topics of dispute then existing between England and America. Lord Fairfax was also a constant guest at Mount Vernon, who, although eccentric in his habits, possessed a cultivated mind, social qualities, and a perfect knowledge of the world. To these may be added a large circle of relatives and acquaintances, who sought his society, and to whom his house was always open."]

One of Washington's habits shows the same disinterested character which marked his great public acts. This

is his invariable willingness to make himself useful to his friends and neighbors by acts of kindness. His correspondence abounds with evidence of the readiness with which he undertook trusts, acted in arbitrations, executed commissions for persons at a distance, gave information on disputed points, and answered with courtesy the letters of persons who really had no particular claim to his attention. All such offices of kindness he found time to discharge notwithstanding the many and various demands upon his time arising from the personal oversight of his estate, the management of his shipments abroad, and imports of his own supplies, and the keeping of his own accounts — to say nothing of his duties as host to the many visitors whom his well-known hospitality attracted to Mount Vernon.

Among the tasks which he voluntarily imposed upon himself in this spirit of disinterested kindness was that of taking care that justice was done to the Virginia soldiers who had served under his command in the Seven Years' War, and who had thus become entitled to certain grants of land. His office of commissioner for settling the military accounts of the Colony enabled him to exert himself effectually in this matter.

During the early part of the period which followed his marriage and settlement at Mount Vernon, he joined a company who had undertaken to drain the Great Dismal swamp on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, with a view of using the land for agricultural purposes, and he actually visited and explored this formidable and almost inaccessible tract. The chartering of the Dismal Swamp Company by the Virginia House of Burgesses at its next session led to important results. We shall see in the sequel that this was by no means the only instance of Washington's active promotion of the cause of internal improvement.

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